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ANTE-NICENE
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TRANSLATIONS OF
THE WRITINGS OF THE FATHERS
DOWN TO A.D. 325.

EDITED BY THE
REV. ALEXANDER ROBERTS, D.D.,
AND
JAMES DONALDSON, LL.D.

VOL. I.
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS.

EDINBURGH:
T. AND T. CLARK, 38, GEORGE STREET.

MDCCCLXVII.

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THE WRITINGS

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REV. DR ROBERTS, DR DONALDSON,
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REV. F. CROMBIE.

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NOTE BY THE EDITORS TO VOL. I.

The Ante-Nicene Christian Library is meant to comprise translations into English of all the extant works of the Fathers down to the date of the first General Council held at Nice in A.D. 325. The sole provisional exception is that of the more bulky writings of Origen. It is intended at present only to embrace in the scheme the *Contra Celsum* and the *De Principiis* of that voluminous author; but the whole of his works will be included should the undertaking prove successful.

The present volume has been translated by the Editors (with the exception of the *Similitudes of Hermas*, which is translated by the Rev. F. Crombie, M.A.). Their object has been to place the English reader as nearly as possible on a footing of equality with those who are able to read the original. With this view they have for the most part leaned towards literal exactness; and wherever any considerable departure from this has been made, a *verbatim* rendering has been given at the foot of the page. Brief introductory notices have been prefixed, and short notes inserted, to indicate varieties of reading, specify references, or elucidate any obscurity which seemed to exist in the text.

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THE FIRST EPISTLE OF CLEMENT.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

THE first Epistle, bearing the name of Clement, has been preserved to us in a single manuscript only. Though very frequently referred to by ancient Christian writers, it remained unknown to the scholars of Western Europe until happily discovered in the Alexandrian manuscript. This MS. of the sacred Scriptures (known and generally referred to as Codex A) was presented in 1628 by Cyril, Patriarch of Constantinople, to Charles I., and is now preserved in the British Museum. Subjoined to the books of the New Testament contained in it, there are two writings described as the Epistles of one Clement. Of these, that now before us is the first. It is tolerably perfect, but there are many slight *lacunæ*, or gaps, in the MS., and one whole leaf is supposed to have been lost towards the close. These *lacunæ*, however, so numerous in some chapters, do not generally extend beyond a word or syllable, and can for the most part be easily supplied.

Who the Clement was to whom these writings are ascribed, cannot with absolute certainty be determined. The general opinion is, that he is the same as the person of that name referred to by St Paul (Phil. iv. 3). The writings themselves contain no statement as to their author. The first, and by far the longer of them, simply purports to have been written in the name of the church at Rome to the church at Corinth. But in the catalogue of contents prefixed to the MS. they are both plainly attributed to one Clement; and the judgment of most scholars is, that, in regard to the first epistle at least, this statement is correct, and that it is to be regarded as an authentic production of the friend and fellowworker of St Paul. This belief may be traced to an early period in the history of the church. It is found in the writings of Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* iii. 15), of Origen (*Comm. in Joan.* i. 29), and others. The internal evidence also tends to support this opinion. The doctrine, style, and manner of thought are all in accordance with it; so that, although, as has been said, positive certainty cannot be reached on the subject, we may with great probability conclude that we have in this epistle a composition of that Clement who is known to us from Scripture as having been an associate of the great apostle.

The date of this epistle has been the subject of considerable controversy. It is clear from the writing itself that it was composed soon after some persecution (chap. i.) which the Roman church had endured; and the only question is, whether we are to fix upon the persecution under Nero or Domitian. If the former, the date will be about the year 68; if the latter, we must place it towards the close of the first century or the beginning of the second. We possess no external aid to the settlement of this question. The lists of early Roman bishops are in hopeless confusion, some making Clement the immediate successor of St Peter, others placing Linus, and others still Linus and Anacletus, between him and the apostle. The internal evidence, again, leaves the matter doubtful, though it has been strongly pressed on both sides. The probability seems, on the whole, to be in favour of the Domitian period, so that the epistle may be dated about A.D. 97.

This epistle was held in very great esteem by the early church. The account given of it by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* iii. 16) is as follows: "There is one acknowledged epistle of this Clement (whom he has just identified with the friend of St Paul), great and admirable, which he wrote in the name of the church of Rome to the church at Corinth, sedition having then arisen in the latter church. We are aware that this epistle has been publicly read in very many churches both in old times, and also in our own day." The epistle before us thus appears to have been read in numerous churches, as being almost on a level with the canonical writings. And its place in the Alexandrian MS., immediately after the inspired books, is in harmony with the position thus assigned it in the primitive church. There does indeed appear a great difference between it and the inspired writings in many respects, such as the fanciful use sometimes made of Old Testament statements, the fabulous stories which are accepted by its author, and the general diffuseness and feebleness of style by which it is distinguished. But the high tone of evangelical truth which pervades it, the simple and earnest appeals which it makes to the heart and conscience, and the anxiety which its writer so constantly shows to promote the best interests of the church of Christ, still impart an undying charm to this precious relic of later apostolic times.

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THE FIRST EPISTLE OF CLEMENT TO THE CORINTHIANS.[1]

CHAP. I.—*The Salutation. Praise of the Corinthians before the breaking forth of schism among them.*

THE church of God which sojourns at Rome, to the church of God sojourning at Corinth, to them that are called and sanctified by the will of God, through our Lord Jesus Christ: Grace unto you, and peace, from Almighty God through Jesus Christ, be multiplied.

Owing, dear brethren, to the sudden and successive calamitous events which have happened to ourselves, we feel that we have been somewhat tardy in turning our attention to the points respecting which you consulted us; and especially to that shameful and detestable sedition, utterly abhorrent to the elect of God, which a few rash and self-confident persons have kindled to such a pitch of frenzy, that your venerable and illustrious name, worthy to be universally loved, has suffered grievous injury.[2] For who ever dwelt even for a short time among you, and did not find your faith to be as fruitful of virtue as it was firmly established?[3] Who did not admire the sobriety and moderation of your godliness in Christ? Who did not proclaim the magnificence of your habitual hospitality? And who did not rejoice over your perfect and well-grounded knowledge? For ye did all things without respect of persons, and walked in the commandments of God, being obedient to those who had the rule over you, and giving all fitting honour to the presbyters among you. Ye enjoined young men to be of a sober and serious mind, ye instructed your wives to do all things with a blameless, becoming, and pure conscience, loving their husbands as in duty bound; and ye taught them that, living in the rule of obedience, they should manage their household affairs becomingly, and be in every respect marked by discretion.

---

[1] In the only known MS. of this epistle, the title is thus given at the close.

[2] Literally, "is greatly blasphemed."

[3] Literally, "did not prove your all-virtuous and firm faith."

CHAP. II.—*Praise of the Corinthians continued.*

Moreover, ye were all distinguished by humility, and were in no respect puffed up with pride, but yielded obedience rather than extorted it,[1] and were more willing to give than to receive.[2] Content with the provision which God had made for you, and carefully attending to His words, ye were inwardly filled[3] with His doctrine, and His sufferings were before your eyes. Thus a profound and abundant peace was given to you all, and ye had an insatiable desire for doing good, while a full outpouring of the Holy Spirit was upon you all. Full of holy designs, ye did, with true earnestness of mind and a godly confidence, stretch forth your hands to God Almighty, beseeching Him to be merciful unto you, if ye had been guilty of any involuntary transgression. Day and night ye were anxious for the whole brotherhood,[4] that the number of God's elect might be saved with mercy and a good conscience.[5] Ye were sincere and uncorrupted, and forgetful of injuries between one another. Every kind of faction and schism was abominable in your sight. Ye mourned over the transgressions of your neighbours: their deficiencies you deemed your own. Ye never grudged any act of kindness, being "ready to every good work."[1] Adorned by a thoroughly virtuous and religious life, ye did all things in the fear of God. The commandments and ordinances of the Lord were written upon the tablets of your hearts.[2]

---

[1] Eph. v. 21; 1 Pet. v. 5.

[2] Acts xx. 35.

[3] Literally, "ye embraced it in your bowels."

[4] 1 Pet. ii. 17.

[5] So in the MS., but many have suspected that the text is here corrupt. Perhaps the best emendation is that which substitutes *συναισθήσεως*, "compassion," for *συνειδήσεως*, "conscience."

CHAP. III.—*The sad state of the Corinthian church after sedition arose in it from envy and emulation.*

Every kind of honour and happiness[3] was bestowed upon you, and then was fulfilled that which is written, "My beloved did eat and drink, and was enlarged and became fat, and kicked."[4] Hence flowed emulation and envy, strife and sedition, persecution and disorder, war and captivity. So the worthless rose up against the honoured, those of no reputation against such as were renowned, the foolish against the wise, the young against those advanced in years. For this reason righteousness and peace are now far departed from you, inasmuch as every one abandons the fear of God, and is become blind in His faith,[5] neither walks in the ordinances of His appointment, nor acts a part becoming a Christian,[6] but walks after his own wicked lusts, resuming the practice of an unrighteous and ungodly envy, by which death itself entered into the world.[7]

CHAP. IV.—*Many evils have already flowed from this source in ancient times.*

For thus it is written: "And it came to pass after certain days, that Cain brought of the fruits of the earth a sacrifice unto God; and Abel also brought of the firstlings of his sheep, and of the fat thereof. And God had respect to Abel and to his offerings, but Cain and his sacrifices He did not regard. And Cain was deeply grieved, and his countenance fell. And God said to Cain, Why art thou grieved, and why is thy countenance fallen? If thou offerest rightly, but dost not divide rightly, hast thou not sinned? Be at peace: thine offering returns to thyself, and thou shalt again possess it. And Cain said to Abel his brother, Let us go into the field. And it came to pass, while they were in the field, that Cain rose up against Abel his brother, and slew him."[1] Ye see, brethren, how envy and jealousy led to the murder of a brother. Through envy, also, our father Jacob fled from the face of Esau his brother.[2] Envy made Joseph be persecuted unto death, and to come into bondage.[3] Envy compelled Moses to flee from the face of Pharaoh king of Egypt, when he heard these words from his fellow-countryman, "Who made thee a judge or a ruler over us? wilt thou kill me, as thou didst kill the Egyptian yesterday?"[4] On account of envy, Aaron and Miriam had to make their abode without the camp.[5] Envy brought down Dathan and Abiram alive to Hades, through the sedition which they excited against God's servant Moses.[6] Through envy, David underwent the hatred not only of foreigners, but was also persecuted by Saul king of Israel.[7]

---

[1] Tit. iii. 1.

[2] Prov. vii. 3.

[3] Literally, "enlargement."

[4] Deut. xxxii. 15.

[5] It seems necessary to refer αὐτοῦ to *God*, in opposition to the translation given by Abp. Wake and others.

[6] Literally, "Christ;" comp. 2 Cor. i. 21, Eph. iv. 20.

[7] Wisd. ii. 24.

Chap. v.—*No less evils have arisen from the same source in the most recent times. The martyrdom of Peter and Paul.*

But not to dwell upon ancient examples, let us come to the most recent spiritual heroes.[8] Let us take the noble examples furnished in our own generation. Through envy and jealousy, the greatest and most righteous pillars [of the church] have been persecuted and put to death.[1] Let us set before our eyes the illustrious[2] apostles. Peter, through unrighteous envy, endured not one or two, but numerous labours; and when he had at length suffered martyrdom, departed to the place of glory due to him. Owing to envy, Paul also obtained the reward of patient endurance, after being seven times thrown into captivity,[3] compelled[4] to flee, and stoned. After preaching both in the east and west, he gained the illustrious reputation due to his faith, having taught righteousness to the whole world, and come to the extreme limit of the west,[5] and suffered martyrdom under the prefects.[6] Thus was he removed from the world, and went into the holy place, having proved himself a striking example of patience.

---

[1] Gen. iv. 3–8. The writer here, as always, follows the reading of the Septuagint, which in this passage both alters and adds to the Hebrew text. We have given the rendering approved by the best critics; but some prefer to translate, as in our English version, "unto thee shall be his desire, and thou shalt rule over him." See, for an ancient explanation of the passage, Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* iv. 18, 3.

[2] Gen. xxvii. 41, etc.

[3] Gen. xxxvii.

[4] Ex. ii. 14.

[5] Num. xii. 14, 15.

[6] Num. xvi. 33.

[7] 1 Kings xviii. 8, etc.

[8] Literally, "those who have been athletes."

CHAP. VI.—*Continuation. Several other martyrs.*

To these men who spent their lives in the practice of holiness, there is to be added a great multitude of the elect, who, having through envy endured many indignities and tortures, furnished us with a most excellent example. Through envy, those women, the Danaids[7] and Dircæ, being persecuted, after they had suffered terrible and unspeakable torments, finished the course of their faith with stedfastness,[8] and though weak in body, received a noble reward. Envy has alienated wives from their husbands, and changed that saying of our father Adam, "This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh."[1] Envy and strife have overthrown great cities, and rooted up mighty nations.

---

[1] Some fill up the *lacuna* here found in the MS. so as to read, "have come to a grievous death."

[2] Literally "good."

[3] *Seven* imprisonments of St Paul are not referred to in Scripture.

[4] Archbishop Wake here reads "scourged." We have followed the most recent critics in filling up the numerous *lacunæ* in this chapter.

[5] Some think *Rome*, others *Spain*, and others even *Britain*, to be here referred to.

[6] That is, under Tigellinus and Sabinus, in the last year of the Emperor Nero; but some think Helius and Polycletus referred to; and others, both here and in the preceding sentence, regard the words as denoting simply the *witness* borne by Peter and Paul to the truth of the gospel before the rulers of the earth.

[7] Some suppose these to have been the names of two eminent female martyrs under Nero; others regard the clause as an interpolation.

[8] Literally, "have reached to the stedfast course of faith."

Chap. vii.—*An exhortation to repentance.*

These things, beloved, we write unto you, not merely to admonish you of your duty, but also to remind ourselves. For we are struggling on the same arena, and the same conflict is assigned to both of us. Wherefore let us give up vain and fruitless cares, and approach to the glorious and venerable rule of our holy calling. Let us attend to what is good, pleasing, and acceptable in the sight of Him who formed us. Let us look stedfastly to the blood of Christ, and see how precious that blood is to God,[2] which, having been shed for our salvation, has set the grace of repentance before the whole world. Let us turn to every age that has passed, and learn that, from generation to generation, the Lord has granted a place of repentance to all such as would be converted unto Him. Noah preached repentance, and as many as listened to him were saved.[3] Jonah proclaimed destruction to the Ninevites;[4] but they, repenting of their sins, propitiated God by prayer, and obtained salvation, although they were aliens [to the covenant] of God.

Chap. viii.—*Continuation respecting repentance.*

The ministers of the grace of God have, by the Holy Spirit, spoken of repentance; and the Lord of all things has himself declared with an oath regarding it, "As I live, saith the Lord, I desire not the death of the sinner, but rather his repentance;"[5] adding, moreover, this gracious declaration, "Repent, O house of Israel, of your iniquity.[6] Say to the children of my people, Though your sins reach from earth to heaven, and though they be redder[1] than scarlet, and blacker than sackcloth, yet if ye turn to me with your whole heart, and say, Father! I will listen to you, as to a holy[2] people." And in another place He speaks thus: "Wash you, and become clean; put away the wickedness of your souls from before mine eyes; cease from your evil ways, and learn to do well; seek out judgment, deliver the oppressed, judge the fatherless, and see that justice is done to the widow; and come, and let us reason together. He declares, Though your sins be like crimson, I will make them white as snow; though they be like scarlet, I will whiten them like wool. And if ye be willing and obey me, ye shall eat the good of the land; but if ye refuse, and will not hearken unto me, the sword shall devour you, for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken these things."[3] Desiring, therefore, that all His beloved should be partakers of repentance, He has, by His almighty will, established [these declarations].

---

[1] Gen. ii. 23.

[2] Some insert "Father."

[3] Gen. vii.; 1 Pet. iii. 20; 2 Pet. ii. 5.

[4] Jonah iii.

[5] Ezek. xxxiii. 11.

[6] Ezek. xviii. 30.

CHAP. IX.—*Examples of the saints.*

Wherefore, let us yield obedience to His excellent and glorious will; and imploring His mercy and loving-kindness, while we forsake all fruitless labours,[4] and strife, and envy, which leads to death, let us turn and have recourse to His compassions. Let us stedfastly contemplate those who have perfectly ministered to his excellent glory. Let us take (for instance) Enoch, who, being found righteous in obedience, was translated, and death was never known to happen to him.[5] Noah, being found faithful, preached regeneration to the world through his ministry; and the Lord saved by him the animals which, with one accord, entered into the ark.

---

[1] Comp. Isa. i. 18.

[2] These words are not found in Scripture, though they are quoted again by Clem. Alex. (*Pædag.* i. 10) as from Ezekiel.

[3] Isa. i. 16–20.

[4] Some read *ματαιολογίαν*, *vain talk.*

[5] Gen. v. 24; Heb. xi. 5. Literally, "and his death was not found."

CHAP. X.—*Continuation of the above.*

Abraham, styled "the friend,"[1] was found faithful, inasmuch as he rendered obedience to the words of God. He, in the exercise of obedience, went out from his own country, and from his kindred, and from his father's house, in order that, by forsaking a small territory, and a weak family, and an insignificant house, he might inherit the promises of God. For God said to him, "Get thee out from thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, into the land which I shall show thee. And I will make thee a great nation, and will bless thee, and make thy name great, and thou shalt be blessed. And I will bless them that bless thee, and curse them that curse thee; and in thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed."[2] And again, on his departing from Lot, God said to him, "Lift up thine eyes, and look from the place where thou now art, northward, and southward, and eastward, and westward; for all the land which thou seest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed for ever. And I will make thy seed as the dust of the earth, [so that] if a man can number the dust of the earth, then shall thy seed also be numbered."[3] And again [the Scripture] saith, "God brought forth Abram, and spake unto him, Look up now to heaven, and count the stars if thou be able to number them; so shall thy seed be. And Abram believed God, and it was counted to him for righteousness."[4] On account of his faith and hospitality, a son was given him in his old age; and in the exercise of obedience, he offered him as a sacrifice to God on one of the mountains which He showed him.[5]

CHAP. XI.—*Continuation. Lot.*

On account of his hospitality and godliness, Lot was saved out of Sodom when all the country round was punished by means of fire and brimstone, the Lord thus making it manifest that He does not forsake those that hope in Him, but gives up such as depart from Him to punishment and torture.[1] For Lot's wife, who went forth with him, being of a different mind from himself, and not continuing in agreement with him [as to the command which had been given them], was made an example of, so as to be a pillar of salt unto this day.[2] This was done that all might know that those who are of a double mind, and who distrust the power of God, bring down judgment on themselves,[3] and become a sign to all succeeding generations.

---

[1] Isa. xli. 8; 2 Chron. xx. 7; Judith viii. 19; James ii. 23.

[2] Gen. xii. 1–3.

[3] Gen. xiii. 14–16.

[4] Gen. xv. 5, 6; Rom. iv. 3.

[5] Gen. xxi. 22; Heb. xi. 17.

CHAP. XII.—*The rewards of faith and hospitality. Rahab.*

On account of her faith and hospitality, Rahab the harlot was saved. For when spies were sent by Joshua, the son of Nun, to Jericho, the king of the country ascertained that they were come to spy out their land, and sent men to seize them, in order that, when taken, they might be put to death. But the hospitable Rahab receiving them, concealed them on the roof of her house under some stalks of flax. And when the men sent by the king arrived and said, "There came men unto thee who are to spy out our land; bring them forth, for so the king commands," she answered them, "The two men whom ye seek came unto me, but quickly departed again and are gone," thus not discovering the spies to them. Then she said to the men, "I know assuredly that the Lord your God hath given you this city, for the fear and dread of you have fallen on its inhabitants. When therefore ye shall have taken it, keep ye me and the house of my father in safety." And they said to her, "It shall be as thou hast spoken to us. As soon, therefore, as thou knowest that we are at hand, thou shalt gather all thy family under thy roof, and they shall be preserved, but all that are found outside of thy dwelling shall perish."[4] Moreover, they gave her a sign to this effect, that she should hang forth from her house a scarlet thread. And thus they made it manifest that redemption should flow through the blood of the Lord to all them that believe and hope in God.[1] Ye see, beloved, that there was not only faith, but prophecy, in this woman.

---

[1] Gen. xix.; comp. 2 Pet. ii. 6–9.

[2] So Joseph. *Antiq.* i. 11, 4; Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* iv. 31.

[3] Literally, "become a judgment and sign."

[4] Josh. ii.; Heb. xi. 31.

Chap. xiii.—*An exhortation to humility.*

Let us therefore, brethren, be of humble mind, laying aside all haughtiness, and pride, and foolishness, and angry feelings; and let us act according to that which is written (for the Holy Spirit saith, "Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, neither let the mighty man glory in his might, neither let the rich man glory in his riches; but let him that glorieth glory in the Lord, in diligently seeking Him, and doing judgment and righteousness"[2]), being especially mindful of the words of the Lord Jesus which He spake, teaching us meekness and long-suffering. For thus He spoke: "Be ye merciful, that ye may obtain mercy; forgive, that it may be forgiven to you; as ye do, so shall it be done unto you; as ye judge, so shall ye be judged; as ye are kind, so shall kindness be shown to you; with what measure ye mete, with the same it shall be measured to you."[3] By this precept and by these rules let us stablish ourselves, that we walk with all humility in obedience to His holy words. For the holy word saith, "On whom shall I look, but on him that is meek and peaceable, and that trembleth at my words?"[4]

Chap. xiv.—*We should obey God rather than the authors of sedition.*

It is right and holy therefore, men and brethren, rather to obey God than to follow those who, through pride and sedition, have become the leaders of a detestable emulation. For we shall incur no slight injury, but rather great danger, if we rashly yield ourselves to the inclinations of men who aim at exciting strife and tumults, so as to draw us away from what is good. Let us be kind one to another after the pattern of the tender mercy and benignity of our Creator. For it is written, "The kind-hearted shall inhabit the land, and the guiltless shall be left upon it, but transgressors shall be destroyed from off the face of it."[1] And again [the Scripture] saith, "I saw the ungodly highly exalted, and lifted up like the cedars of Lebanon: I passed by, and, behold, he was not; and I diligently sought his place, and could not find it. Preserve innocence, and look on equity: for there shall be a remnant to the peaceable man."[2]

---

[1] Others of the fathers adopt the same allegorical interpretation, *e.g.* Justin Mar. *Dial. c. Tryph.* n. 111; Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* iv. 20.

[2] Jer. ix. 23, 24; 1 Cor. i. 31; 2 Cor. x. 17.

[3] Comp. Matt. vi. 12–15, vii. 2; Luke vi. 36–38.

[4] Isa. lxvi. 2.

CHAP. XV.—*We must adhere to those who cultivate peace, not to those who merely pretend to do so.*

Let us cleave, therefore, to those who cultivate peace with godliness, and not to those who hypocritically profess to desire it. For [the Scripture] saith in a certain place, "This people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me."[3] And again: "They bless with their mouth, but curse with their heart."[4] And again it saith, "They loved Him with their mouth, and lied to Him with their tongue; but their heart was not right with Him, neither were they faithful in His covenant."[5] "Let the deceitful lips become silent,"[6] [and "let the Lord destroy all the lying lips,[7]] and the boastful tongue of those who have said, Let us magnify our tongue; our lips are our own; who is lord over us? For the oppression of the poor, and for the sighing of the needy, will I now arise, saith the Lord: I will place him in safety; I will deal confidently with him."[1]

---

[1] Prov. ii. 21, 22.

[2] Ps. xxxvii. 35-37. "Remnant" probably refers either to the *memory* or *posterity* of the righteous.

[3] Isa. xxix. 13; Matt. xv. 8; Mark vii. 6.

[4] Ps. lxii. 4.

[5] Ps. lxxviii. 36, 37.

[6] Ps. xxxi. 18.

[7] These words within brackets are not found in the MS., but have been inserted from the Septuagint by most editors.

CHAP. XVI.—*Christ as an example of humility.*

For Christ is of those who are humble-minded, and not of those who exalt themselves over His flock. Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Sceptre of the majesty of God, did not come in the pomp of pride or arrogance, although He might have done so, but in a lowly condition, as the Holy Spirit had declared regarding Him. For He says, "Lord, who hath believed our report, and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed? We have declared [our message] in His presence: He is, as it were, a child, and like a root in thirsty ground; He has no form nor glory, yea, we saw Him, and He had no form nor comeliness; but His form was without eminence, yea, deficient in comparison with the [ordinary] form of men. He is a man exposed to stripes and suffering, and acquainted with the endurance of grief: for His countenance was turned away; He was despised, and not esteemed. He bears our iniquities, and is in sorrow for our sakes; yet we supposed that [on His own account] He was exposed to labour, and stripes, and affliction. But He was wounded for our transgressions, and bruised for our iniquities. The chastisement of our peace was upon Him, and by His stripes we were healed. All we, like sheep, have gone astray; [every] man has wandered in his own way; and the Lord has delivered Him up for our sins, while He in the midst of His sufferings openeth not His mouth. He was brought as a sheep to the slaughter, and as a lamb before her shearer is dumb, so He openeth not His mouth. In His humiliation His judgment was taken away; who shall declare His generation? for His life is taken from the earth. For the transgressions of my people was He brought down to death. And I will give the wicked for His sepulchre, and the rich for His death,[2] because He did no iniquity, neither was guile found in His mouth. And the

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[1] Ps. xii. 3-5.

[2] The Latin of Cotelerius, adopted by Hefele and Dressel, translates

Lord is pleased to purify Him by stripes.[1] If ye make[2] an offering for sin, your soul shall see a long-lived seed. And the Lord is pleased to relieve Him of the affliction of His soul, to show Him light, and to form Him with understanding,[3] to justify the Just One who ministereth well to many; and He Himself shall carry their sins. On this account He shall inherit many, and shall divide the spoil of the strong; because His soul was delivered to death, and He was reckoned among the transgressors, and He bare the sins of many, and for their sins was He delivered."[4] And again He saith, "I am a worm, and no man; a reproach of men, and despised of the people. All that see me have derided me; they have spoken with their lips; they have wagged their head, [saying] He hoped in God, let Him deliver Him, let Him save Him, since He delighteth in Him."[5] Ye see, beloved, what is the example which has been given us; for if the Lord thus humbled Himself, what shall we do who have through Him come under the yoke of His grace?

CHAP. XVII.—*The saints as examples of humility.*

Let us be imitators also of those who in goat-skins and sheep-skins[6] went about proclaiming the coming of Christ; I mean Elijah, Elisha, and Ezekiel among the prophets, with those others to whom a like testimony is borne [in Scripture]. Abraham was specially honoured, and was called the friend of God; yet he, earnestly regarding the glory of God, humbly declared, "I am but dust and ashes."[7] Moreover, it is thus

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this clause as follows: "I will set free the wicked on account of His sepulchre, and the rich on account of His death."

[1] The reading of the MS. is τῆς πληγῆς, "purify, or free Him, from stripes." We have adopted the emendation of Junius.

[2] Wotton reads, "If He make."

[3] Or, "*fill* Him with understanding," if πλῆσαι should be read instead of πλάσαι, as Grabe suggests.

[4] Isa. liii. The reader will observe how often the text of the Septuagint, here quoted, differs from the Hebrew as represented by our authorized English version.

[5] Ps. xxii. 6–8.

[6] Heb. xi. 37.

[7] Gen. xviii. 27.

written of Job, "Job was a righteous man, and blameless, truthful, God-fearing, and one that kept himself from all evil."[1] But bringing an accusation against himself, he said, "No man is free from defilement, even if his life be but of one day."[2] Moses was called faithful in all God's house;[3] and through his instrumentality, God punished Egypt[4] with plagues and tortures. Yet he, though thus greatly honoured, did not adopt lofty language, but said, when the divine oracle came to him out of the bush, "Who am I, that Thou sendest me? I am a man of a feeble voice and a slow tongue."[5] And again he said, "I am but as the smoke of a pot."[6]

CHAP. XVIII.—*David as an example of humility.*

But what shall we say concerning David, to whom such testimony was borne, and of whom[7] God said, "I have found a man after mine own heart, David the son of Jesse; and in everlasting mercy have I anointed him?"[8] Yet this very man saith to God, "Have mercy on me, O Lord, according to Thy great mercy; and according to the multitude of Thy compassions, blot out my transgression. Wash me still more from mine iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin. For I acknowledge mine iniquity, and my sin is ever before me. Against Thee only have I sinned, and done that which is evil in Thy sight; that Thou mayest be justified in Thy sayings, and mayest overcome when Thou[9] art judged. For, behold, I was conceived in transgressions, and in sins did my mother conceive me. For, behold, Thou hast loved truth; the secret and hidden things of wisdom hast Thou shown me. Thou shalt sprinkle me with hyssop, and I shall be cleansed; Thou shalt wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow. Thou shalt make me to hear joy and gladness; my bones, which have been humbled, shall exult. Turn away Thy face from my sins, and blot out all mine iniquities. Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me.[1] Cast me not away from Thy presence, and take not Thy Holy Spirit from me. Restore to me the joy of Thy salvation, and establish me by Thy governing Spirit. I will teach transgressors Thy ways, and the ungodly shall be converted unto Thee. Deliver me from blood-guiltiness,[2] O God, the God of my salvation: my tongue shall exult in Thy righteousness. O Lord, Thou shalt open my mouth, and my lips shall show forth Thy praise. For if Thou hadst desired sacrifice, I would have given it; Thou wilt not delight in burnt-offerings. The sacrifice [acceptable] to God is a bruised spirit; a broken and a contrite heart God will not despise."[3]

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[1] Job i. 1.

[2] Job xiv. 4, 5.

[3] Num. xii. 7; Heb. iii. 2.

[4] Some fill up the *lacuna* which here occurs in the MS. by "Israel."

[5] Ex. iii. 11, iv. 10.

[6] This is not found in Scripture.

[7] Or, as some render, "to whom."

[8] Ps. lxxxix. 21.

[9] Or, "when Thou judgest."

CHAP. XIX.—*Imitating these examples, let us seek after peace.*

Thus the humility and godly submission of so great and illustrious men have rendered not only us, but also all the generations before us, better; even as many as have received His oracles in fear and truth. Wherefore, having so many great and glorious examples set before us, let us turn again to the practice of that peace which from the beginning was the mark set before us;[4] and let us look stedfastly to the Father and Creator of the universe, and cleave to His mighty and surpassingly great gifts and benefactions of peace. Let us contemplate Him with our understanding, and look with the eyes of our soul to His long-suffering will. Let us reflect how free from wrath He is towards all His creation.

CHAP. XX.—*The peace and harmony of the universe.*

The heavens, revolving under His government, are subject to Him in peace. Day and night run the course appointed by Him, in no wise hindering each other. The sun and moon, with the companies of the stars, roll on in harmony according to His command, within their prescribed limits, and without any deviation. The fruitful earth, according to His will, brings forth food in abundance, at the proper seasons, for man and beast and all the living beings upon it, never hesitating, nor changing any of the ordinances which He has fixed. The unsearchable places of abysses, and the indescribable arrangements of the lower world, are restrained by the same laws. The vast unmeasurable sea, gathered together by His working into various basins,[1] never passes beyond the bounds placed around it, but does as He has commanded. For He said, "Thus far shalt thou come, and thy waves shall be broken within thee."[2] The ocean, impassable to man, and the worlds beyond it, are regulated by the same enactments of the Lord. The seasons of spring, summer, autumn, and winter, peacefully give place to one another. The winds in their several quarters[3] fulfil, at the proper time, their service without hindrance. The ever-flowing fountains, formed both for enjoyment and health, furnish without fail their breasts for the life of men. The very smallest of living beings meet together in peace and concord. All these the great Creator and Lord of all has appointed to exist in peace and harmony; while He does good to all, but most abundantly to us who have fled for refuge to His compassions through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom be glory and majesty for ever and ever. Amen.

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[1] Literally, "in my inwards."

[2] Literally, "bloods."

[3] Ps. li. 1–17.

[4] Literally, "Becoming partakers of many great and glorious deeds, let us return to the aim of peace delivered to us from the beginning." Comp. Heb. xii. 1.

CHAP. XXI.—*Let us obey God, and not the authors of sedition.*

Take heed, beloved, lest His many kindnesses lead to the condemnation of us all. [For thus it must be] unless we walk worthy of Him, and with one mind do those things which are good and well-pleasing in His sight. For [the Scripture] saith in a certain place, "The Spirit of the Lord

[1] Or, "collections."

[2] Job xxxviii. 11.

[3] Or, "stations."

is a candle searching the secret parts of the belly."[1] Let us reflect how near He is, and that none of the thoughts or reasonings in which we engage are hid from Him. It is right, therefore, that we should not leave the post which His will has assigned us. Let us rather offend those men who are foolish, and inconsiderate, and lifted up, and who glory in the pride of their speech, than [offend] God. Let us reverence the Lord Jesus Christ, whose blood was given for us; let us esteem those who have the rule over us;[2] let us honour the aged[3] among us; let us train up the young men in the fear of God; let us direct our wives to that which is good. Let them exhibit the lovely habit of purity [in all their conduct]; let them show forth the sincere disposition of meekness; let them make manifest the command which they have of their tongue, by their manner[4] of speaking; let them display their love, not by preferring[5] one to another, but by showing equal affection to all that piously fear God. Let your children be partakers of true Christian training; let them learn of how great avail humility is with God—how much the spirit of pure affection can prevail with Him—how excellent and great His fear is, and how it saves all those who walk in[6] it with a pure mind. For He is a Searcher of the thoughts and desires [of the heart]: His breath is in us; and when He pleases, He will take it away.

CHAP. XXII.—*These exhortations are confirmed by the Christian faith, which proclaims the misery of sinful conduct.*

Now the faith which is in Christ confirms all these [admonitions]. For He Himself by the Holy Ghost thus addresses us: "Come, ye children, hearken unto me; I will teach you the fear of the Lord. What man is he that desireth life, and loveth to see good days? Keep thy tongue from evil, and thy lips from speaking guile. Depart from evil, and do good; seek peace, and pursue it. The eyes of the Lord are upon the righteous, and His ears are [open] unto their prayers. The face of the Lord is against them that do evil, to cut off the remembrance of them from the earth. The righteous cried, and the Lord heard him, and delivered him out of all his troubles."[1] "Many are the stripes [appointed for] the wicked; but mercy shall compass those about who hope in the Lord."[2]

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[1] Prov. xx. 27.

[2] Comp. Heb. xiii. 17; 1 Thess. v. 12, 13.

[3] Or, "the presbyters."

[4] Some read, "by their silence."

[5] Comp. 1 Tim. v. 21.

[6] Some translate, "who turn to Him."

Chap. xxiii.—*Be humble, and believe that Christ will come again.*

The all-merciful and beneficent Father has bowels [of compassion] towards those that fear Him, and kindly and lovingly bestows His favours upon those who come to Him with a simple mind. Wherefore let us not be double-minded; neither let our soul be lifted[3] up on account of His exceedingly great and glorious gifts. Far from us be that which is written, "Wretched are they who are of a double mind, and of a doubting heart; who say, These things we have heard even in the times of our fathers; but, behold, we have grown old, and none of them has happened unto us."[4] Ye foolish ones! compare yourselves to a tree: take [for instance] the vine. First of all, it sheds its leaves, then it buds, next it puts forth leaves, and then it flowers; after that comes the sour grape, and then follows the ripened fruit. Ye perceive how in a little time the fruit of a tree comes to maturity. Of a truth, soon and suddenly shall His will be accomplished, as the Scripture also bears witness, saying, "Speedily will He come, and will not tarry;"[5] and, "The Lord shall suddenly come to His temple, even the Holy One, for whom ye look."[6]

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[1] Ps. xxxiv. 11–17.

[2] Ps. xxxii. 10.

[3] Or, as some render, "neither let us have any doubt of."

[4] Some regard these words as taken from an apocryphal book, others as derived from a fusion of James i. 8 and 2 Pet. iii. 3, 4.

[5] Hab. ii. 3; Heb. x. 37.

[6] Mal. iii. 1.

CHAP. XXIV.—*God continually shows us in nature that there will be a resurrection.*

Let us consider, beloved, how the Lord continually proves to us that there shall be a future resurrection, of which He has rendered the Lord Jesus Christ the first-fruits[1] by raising Him from the dead. Let us contemplate, beloved, the resurrection which is at all times taking place. Day and night declare to us a resurrection. The night sinks to sleep, and the day arises; the day [again] departs, and the night comes on. Let us behold the fruits [of the earth], how the sowing of grain takes place. The sower[2] goes forth, and casts it into the ground; and the seed being thus scattered, though dry and naked when it fell upon the earth, is gradually dissolved. Then out of its dissolution the mighty power of the providence of the Lord raises it up again, and from one seed many arise and bring forth fruit.

CHAP. XXV.—*The phœnix an emblem of our resurrection.*

Let us consider that wonderful sign [of the resurrection] which takes place in eastern lands, that is, in Arabia and the countries round about. There is a certain bird which is called a phœnix. This is the only one of its kind, and lives five hundred years. And when the time of its dissolution draws near that it must die, it builds itself a nest of frankincense, and myrrh, and other spices, into which, when the time is fulfilled, it enters and dies. But as the flesh decays a certain kind of worm is produced, which, being nourished by the juices of the dead bird, brings forth feathers. Then, when it has acquired strength, it takes up that nest in which are the bones of its parent, and bearing these it passes from the land of Arabia into Egypt, to the city called Heliopolis. And, in open day, flying in the sight of all men, it places them on the altar of the sun, and having done this, hastens back to its former abode. The priests then inspect the registers of the dates, and find that it has returned exactly as the five hundredth year was completed.[1]

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[1] Comp. 1 Cor. xv. 20; Col. i. 18.

[2] Comp. Luke viii. 5.

CHAP. XXVI.—*We shall rise again, then, as the Scripture also testifies.*

Do we then deem it any great and wonderful thing for the Maker of all things to raise up again those that have piously served Him in the assurance of a good faith, when even by a bird He shows us the mightiness of His power to fulfil His promise?[2] For [the Scripture] saith in a certain place, "Thou shalt raise me up, and I shall confess unto Thee;"[3] and again, "I laid me down, and slept; I awaked, because Thou art with me;"[4] and again, Job says, "Thou shalt raise up this flesh of mine, which has suffered all these things."[5]

CHAP. XXVII.—*In the hope of the resurrection, let us cleave to the omnipotent and omniscient God.*

Having then this hope, let our souls be bound to Him who is faithful in His promises, and just in His judgments. He who has commanded us not to lie, shall much more Himself not lie; for nothing is impossible with God, except to lie.[6] Let His faith therefore be stirred up again within us, and let us consider that all things are nigh unto Him. By the word of His might[7] He established all things, and by His word He can overthrow them. "Who shall say unto Him, What hast thou done? or, Who shall resist the power of His strength?"[8] When and as He pleases He will do all things, and none of the things determined by Him shall pass away.[9]

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[1] This fable respecting the phœnix is mentioned by Herodotus (ii. 73), and by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* x. 2), and is used as above by Tertullian (*De Resurr.* § 13), and by others of the fathers.

[2] Literally, "the mightiness of His promise."

[3] Ps. xxviii. 7, or from some apocryphal book.

[4] Comp. Ps. iii. 6.

[5] Job xix. 25, 26.

[6] Comp. Tit. i. 2; Heb. vi. 18.

[7] Or "majesty."

[8] Wisd. xii. 12, xi. 22.

[9] Comp. Matt. xxiv. 35.

All things are open before Him, and nothing can be hidden from His counsel. "The heavens[1] declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth His handy-work. Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night showeth knowledge. And there are no words or speeches of which the voices are not heard."[2]

CHAP. XXVIII.—*God sees all things: therefore let us avoid transgression.*

Since then all things are seen and heard [by God], let us fear Him, and forsake those wicked works which proceed from evil desires;[3] so that, through His mercy, we may be protected from the judgments to come. For whither can any of us flee from His mighty hand? Or what world will receive any of those who run away from Him? For the Scripture saith in a certain place, "Whither shall I go, and where shall I be hid from Thy presence? If I ascend into heaven, Thou art there; if I go away even to the uttermost parts of the earth, there is Thy right hand; if I make my bed in the abyss, there is Thy Spirit."[4] Whither, then, shall any one go, or where shall he escape from Him who comprehends all things?

CHAP. XXIX.—*Let us also draw near to God in purity of heart.*

Let us then draw near to Him with holiness of spirit, lifting up pure and undefiled hands unto Him, loving our gracious and merciful Father, who has made us partakers in the blessings of His elect.[5] For thus it is written, "When the Most High divided the nations, when He scattered[6] the sons of Adam, He fixed the bounds of the nations according to the number of the angels of God. His people Jacob became the portion of the Lord, and Israel the lot of His inheritance."[7] And in another place [the Scripture] saith, "Behold, the

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[1] Literally, "If the heavens," etc.

[2] Ps. xix. 1–3.

[3] Literally, "abominable lusts of evil deeds."

[4] Ps. cxxxix. 7–10.

[5] Literally, "has made us to Himself a part of election."

[6] Literally, "sowed abroad."

[7] Deut. xxxii. 8, 9.

Lord taketh unto Himself a nation out of the midst of the nations, as a man takes the first-fruits of his threshing-floor; and from that nation shall come forth the Most Holy"[1]

CHAP. XXX.—*Let us do those things that please God, and flee from those He hates, that we may be blessed.*

Seeing, therefore, that we are the portion of the Holy One, let us do all those things which pertain to holiness, avoiding all evil-speaking, all abominable and impure embraces, together with all drunkenness, seeking after change,[2] all abominable lusts, detestable adultery, and execrable pride. "For God," saith [the Scripture], "resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble."[3] Let us cleave, then, to those to whom grace has been given by God. Let us clothe ourselves with concord and humility, ever exercising self-control, standing far off from all whispering and evil-speaking, being justified by our works, and not our words. For [the Scripture] saith, "He that speaketh much, shall also hear much in answer. And does he that is ready in speech deem himself righteous? Blessed is he that is born of woman, who liveth but a short time: be not given to much speaking."[4] Let our praise be in God, and not of ourselves; for God hateth those that commend themselves. Let testimony to our good deeds be borne by others, as it was in the case of our righteous forefathers. Boldness, and arrogance, and audacity belong to those that are accursed of God; but moderation, humility, and meekness to such as are blessed by Him.

CHAP. XXXI.—*Let us see by what means we may obtain the divine blessing.*

Let us cleave then to His blessing, and consider what are the means[1] of possessing it. Let us think[2] over the things which have taken place from the beginning. For what reason was our father Abraham blessed? was it not because he wrought righteousness and truth through faith?[3] Isaac, with perfect confidence, as if knowing what was to happen,[4] cheerfully yielded himself as a sacrifice.[5] Jacob, through reason[6] of his brother, went forth with humility from his own land, and came to Laban and served him; and there was given to him the sceptre of the twelve tribes of Israel.

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[1] Formed apparently from Num. xviii. 27 and 2 Chron. xxxi. 14. Literally, the closing words are, "the holy of holies."

[2] Some translate, "youthful lusts."

[3] Prov. iii. 34; James iv. 6; 1 Pet. v. 5.

[4] Job xi. 2, 3. The translation is doubtful.

CHAP. XXXII.—*We are justified not by our own works, but by faith.*

Whosoever will candidly consider each particular, will recognise the greatness of the gifts which were given by him.[7] For from him[8] have sprung the priests and all the Levites who minister at the altar of God. From him also [was descended] our Lord Jesus Christ according to the flesh.[9] From him [arose] kings, princes, and rulers of the race of Judah. Nor are his other tribes in small glory, inasmuch as God had promised, "Thy seed shall be as the stars of heaven."[10] All these, therefore, were highly honoured, and made great, not for their own sake, or for their own works, or for the righteousness which they wrought, but through the operation of His will. And we, too, being called by His will in Christ Jesus, are not justified by ourselves, nor by our own wisdom, or understanding, or godliness, or works which we have wrought in holiness of heart;

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[1] Literally, "what are the ways of His blessing."

[2] Literally, "unroll."

[3] Comp. James ii. 21.

[4] Some translate, "knowing what was to come."

[5] Gen. xxii.

[6] So Jacobson: Wotton reads, "fleeing from his brother."

[7] The meaning is here very doubtful. Some translate, "the gifts which were given to Jacob by Him," *i.e.* God.

[8] MS. *αὐτῶν*, referring to the gifts: we have followed the emendation *αὐτοῦ*, adopted by most editors. Some refer the word to *God*, and not *Jacob*.

[9] Comp. Rom. ix. 5.

[10] Gen. xxii. 17, xxviii. 4.

but by that faith through which, from the beginning, Almighty God has justified all men; to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

CHAP. XXXIII.—*But let us not give up the practice of good works and love. God Himself is an example to us of good works.*

What shall we do, then, brethren? Shall we become slothful in well-doing, and cease from the practice of love? God forbid that any such course should be followed by us! But rather let us hasten with all energy and readiness of mind to perform every good work. For the Creator and Lord of all Himself rejoices in His works. For by His infinitely great power He established the heavens, and by His incomprehensible wisdom He adorned them. He also divided the earth from the water which surrounds it, and fixed it upon the immoveable foundation of His own will. The animals also which are upon it He commanded by His own word[1] into existence. So likewise, when He had formed the sea, and the living creatures which are in it, He enclosed them [within their proper bounds] by His own power. Above all,[2] with His holy and undefiled hands He formed man, the most excellent [of His creatures], and truly great through the understanding given him—the express likeness of His own image. For thus says God: "Let us make man in our image, and after our likeness. So God made man; male and female He created them."[3] Having thus finished all these things, He approved them, and blessed them, and said, "Increase and multiply."[4] We see,[5] then, how all righteous men have been adorned with good works, and how the Lord Himself, adorning Himself with His works, rejoiced. Having therefore such an example, let us without delay accede to His will, and let us work the work of righteousness with our whole strength.

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[1] Or, "commandment."

[2] Or, "in addition to all."

[3] Gen. i. 26, 27.

[4] Gen. i. 28.

[5] Or, "let us consider."

CHAP. XXXIV.—*Great is the reward of good works with God. Joined together in harmony, let us implore that reward from Him.*

The good servant[1] receives the bread of his labour with confidence; the lazy and slothful cannot look his employer in the face. It is requisite, therefore, that we be prompt in the practice of well-doing; for of Him are all things. And thus He forewarns us: "Behold, the Lord [cometh], and His reward is before His face, to render to every man according to his work."[2] He exhorts us, therefore, with our whole heart to attend to this,[3] that we be not lazy or slothful in any good work. Let our boasting and our confidence be in Him. Let us submit ourselves to His will. Let us consider the whole multitude of His angels, how they stand ever ready to minister to His will. For the Scripture saith, "Ten thousand times ten thousand stood around Him, and thousands of thousands ministered unto Him,[4] and cried, Holy, holy, holy, [is] the Lord of Sabaoth; the whole creation is full of His glory."[5] And let us therefore, conscientiously gathering together in harmony, cry to Him earnestly, as with one mouth, that we may be made partakers of His great and glorious promises. For [the Scripture] saith, "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which He hath prepared for them that wait for Him."[6]

CHAP. XXXV.—*Immense is this reward. How shall we obtain it?*

How blessed and wonderful, beloved, are the gifts of God! Life in immortality, splendour in righteousness, truth in perfect confidence,[7] faith in assurance, self-control in holiness! And all these fall under the cognizance of our

[1] Or, "labourer."

[2] Isa. xl. 10, lxii. 11; Rev. xxii. 12.

[3] The text here seems to be corrupt. Some translate, "He warns us with all His heart to this end, that," etc.

[4] Dan. vii. 10.

[5] Isa. vi. 3.

[6] 1 Cor. ii. 9.

[7] Some translate, "in liberty."

understandings [now]; what then shall those things be which are prepared for such as wait for Him? The Creator and Father of all worlds,[1] the Most Holy, alone knows their amount and their beauty. Let us therefore earnestly strive to be found in the number of those that wait for Him, in order that we may share in His promised gifts. But how, beloved, shall this be done? If our understanding be fixed by faith towards God; if we earnestly seek the things which are pleasing and acceptable to Him; if we do the things which are in harmony with His blameless will; and if we follow the way of truth, casting away from us all unrighteousness and iniquity, along with all covetousness, strife, evil practices, deceit, whispering, and evil-speaking, all hatred of God, pride and haughtiness, vainglory and ambition.[2] For they that do such things are hateful to God; and not only they that do them, but also those that take pleasure in them that do them.[3] For the Scripture saith, "But to the sinner God said, Wherefore dost thou declare my statutes, and take my covenant into thy mouth, seeing thou hatest instruction, and castest my words behind thee? When thou sawest a thief, thou consentedst with[4] him, and didst make thy portion with adulterers. Thy mouth has abounded with wickedness, and thy tongue contrived[5] deceit. Thou sittest, and speakest against thy brother; thou slanderest[6] thine own mother's son. These things thou hast done, and I kept silence; thou thoughtest, wicked one, that I should be like to thyself. But I will reprove thee, and set thyself before thee. Consider now these things, ye that forget God, lest He tear you in pieces, like a lion, and there be none to deliver. The sacrifice of praise will glorify me, and a way is there by which I will show him the salvation of God."[7]

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[1] Or, "of the ages."

[2] The reading is doubtful: some have ἀφιλοξενίαν, "want of a hospitable spirit."

[3] Rom. i. 32.

[4] Literally, "didst run with."

[5] Literally, "didst weave."

[6] Or, "layest a snare for."

[7] Ps. l. 16–23. The reader will observe how the Septuagint followed by Clement differs from the Hebrew.

CHAP. XXXVI.—*All blessings are given to us through Christ.*

This is the way, beloved, in which we find our Saviour,[1] even Jesus Christ, the High Priest of all our offerings, the defender and helper of our infirmity. By Him we look up to the heights of heaven. By Him we behold, as in a glass, His immaculate and most excellent visage. By Him are the eyes of our hearts opened. By Him our foolish and darkened understanding blossoms[2] up anew towards His marvellous light. By Him the Lord has willed that we should taste of immortal knowledge,[3] "who, being the brightness of His majesty, is by so much greater than the angels, as He hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they."[4] For it is thus written, "Who maketh His angels spirits, and His ministers a flame of fire."[5] But concerning His Son[6] the Lord spoke thus: "Thou art my Son, to-day have I begotten Thee. Ask of me, and I will give Thee the heathen for Thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for Thy possession."[7] And again He saith to Him, "Sit Thou at my right hand, until I make Thine enemies Thy footstool."[8] But who are His enemies? All the wicked, and those who set themselves to oppose the will of God.[9]

CHAP. XXXVII.—*Christ is our Leader, and we His soldiers.*

Let us then, men and brethren, with all energy act the part of soldiers, in accordance with His holy commandments. Let us consider those who serve under our generals, with what order, obedience, and submissiveness they perform the things which are commanded them. All are not prefects, nor commanders of a thousand, nor of a hundred, nor of fifty, nor the like, but each one in his own rank performs the things commanded by the king and the generals. The great cannot subsist without the small, nor the small without the great. There is a kind of mixture in all things, and thence arises mutual advantage.[1] Let us take our body for an example.[2] The head is nothing without the feet, and the feet are nothing without the head; yea, the very smallest members of our body are necessary and useful to the whole body. But all work[3] harmoniously together, and are under one common rule[4] for the preservation of the whole body.

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[1] Literally, "that which saves us."

[2] Or, "rejoices to behold."

[3] Or, "knowledge of immortality."

[4] Heb. i. 3, 4.

[5] Ps. civ. 4; Heb. i. 7.

[6] Some render, "to the Son."

[7] Ps. ii. 7, 8; Heb. i. 5.

[8] Ps. cx. 1; Heb. i. 13.

[9] Some read, "who oppose their own will to that of God."

CHAP. XXXVIII.—*Let the members of the church submit themselves, and no one exalt himself above another.*

Let our whole body, then, be preserved in Christ Jesus; and let every one be subject to his neighbour, according to the special gift[5] bestowed upon him. Let the strong not despise the weak, and let the weak show respect unto the strong. Let the rich man provide for the wants of the poor; and let the poor man bless God, because He hath given him one by whom his need may be supplied. Let the wise man display his wisdom, not by [mere] words, but through good deeds. Let the humble not bear testimony to himself, but leave witness to be borne to him by another.[6] Let him that is pure in the flesh not grow proud[7] of it, and boast, knowing that it was another who bestowed on him the gift of continence. Let us consider, then, brethren, of what matter we were made,—who and what manner of beings we came into the world, as it were out of a sepulchre, and from utter darkness.[8] He who made us and fashioned us, having prepared His bountiful gifts for us before we were born, introduced us into His world. Since, therefore, we receive all these things from Him, we ought for everything to give Him thanks; to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

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[1] Literally, "in these there is use."

[2] 1 Cor. xii. 12, etc.

[3] Literally, "all breathe together."

[4] Literally, "use one subjection."

[5] Literally, "according as he has been placed in his charism."

[6] Comp. Prov. xxvii. 2.

[7] The MS. is here slightly torn, and we are left to conjecture.

[8] Comp. Ps. cxxxix. 15.

Chap. xxxix.—*There is no reason for self-conceit.*

Foolish and inconsiderate men, who have neither wisdom[1] nor instruction, mock and deride us, being eager to exalt themselves in their own conceits. For what can a mortal man do? or what strength is there in one made out of the dust? For it is written, "There was no shape before mine eyes, only I heard a sound,[2] and a voice [saying], What then? Shall a man be pure before the Lord? or shall such an one be [counted] blameless in his deeds, seeing He does not confide in His servants, and has charged[3] even His angels with perversity? The heaven is not clean in His sight: how much less they that dwell in houses of clay, of which also we ourselves were made! He smote them as a moth; and from morning even until evening they endure not. Because they could furnish no assistance to themselves, they perished. He breathed upon them, and they died, because they had no wisdom. But call now, if any one will answer thee, or if thou wilt look to any of the holy angels; for wrath destroys the foolish man, and envy killeth him that is in error. I have seen the foolish taking root, but their habitation was presently consumed. Let their sons be far from safety; let them be despised[4] before the gates of those less than themselves, and there shall be none to deliver. For what was prepared for them, the righteous shall eat; and they shall not be delivered from evil."[5]

Chap. xl.—*Let us preserve in the church the order appointed by God.*

These things therefore being manifest to us, and since we look into the depths of the divine knowledge, it behoves us to do all things in [their proper] order, which the Lord has commanded us to perform at stated times.[6] He has enjoined offerings [to be presented] and service to be performed [to Him], and that not thoughtlessly or irregularly, but at the appointed times and hours. Where and by whom He desires these things to be done, He Himself has fixed by His own supreme will, in order that all things being piously done according to His good pleasure, may be acceptable unto Him.[1] Those, therefore, who present their offerings at the appointed times, are accepted and blessed; for inasmuch as they follow the laws of the Lord, they sin not. For his own peculiar services are assigned to the high priest, and their own proper place is prescribed to the priests, and their own special ministrations devolve on the Levites. The layman is bound by the laws that pertain to laymen.

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[1] Literally, "and silly and uninstructed."

[2] Literally, "a breath."

[3] Or, "has perceived."

[4] Some render, "they perished at the gates."

[5] Job iv. 16–18, xv. 15, iv. 19–21, v. 1–5.

[6] Some join κατὰ καιροὺς τεταγμένους, "at stated times," to the next sentence.

CHAP. XLI.—*Continuation of the same subject.*

Let every one of you, brethren, give thanks to God in his own order, living in all good conscience, with becoming gravity, and not going beyond the rule of the ministry prescribed to him. Not in every place, brethren, are the daily sacrifices offered, or the peace-offerings, or the sin-offerings and the trespass-offerings, but in Jerusalem only. And even there they are not offered in any place, but only at the altar before the temple, that which is offered being first carefully examined by the high priest and the ministers already mentioned. Those, therefore, who do anything beyond that which is agreeable to His will, are punished with death. Ye see,[2] brethren, that the greater the knowledge that has been vouchsafed to us, the greater also is the danger to which we are exposed.

CHAP. XLII.—*The order of ministers in the church.*

The apostles have preached the gospel to us from[3] the Lord Jesus Christ; Jesus Christ [has done so] from[3] God. Christ therefore was sent forth by God, and the apostles by Christ.

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[1] Literally, "to His will."

[2] Or, "consider."

[3] Or, "by the command of."

Both these appointments,[1] then, were made in an orderly way, according to the will of God. Having therefore received their orders, and being fully assured by the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, and established[2] in the word of God, with full assurance of the Holy Ghost, they went forth proclaiming that the kingdom of God was at hand. And thus preaching through countries and cities, they appointed the first fruits [of their labours], having first proved them by the Spirit,[3] to be bishops and deacons of those who should afterwards believe. Nor was this any new thing, since indeed many ages before it was written concerning bishops and deacons. For thus saith the Scripture in a certain place, "I will appoint their bishops[4] in righteousness, and their deacons[5] in faith."[6]

CHAP. XLIII.—*Moses of old stilled the contention which arose concerning the priestly dignity.*

And what wonder is it if those in Christ who were entrusted with such a duty by God, appointed those [ministers] before mentioned, when the blessed Moses also, "a faithful servant in all his house,"[7] noted down in the sacred books all the injunctions which were given him, and when the other prophets also followed him, bearing witness with one consent to the ordinances which he had appointed? For, when rivalry arose concerning the priesthood, and the tribes were contending among themselves as to which of them should be adorned with that glorious title, he commanded the twelve princes of the tribes to bring him their rods, each one being inscribed with the name[8] of the tribe. And he took them and bound them [together], and sealed them with the rings of the princes of the tribes, and laid them up in the tabernacle of witness on the table of God. And having shut the doors of the tabernacle, he sealed the keys, as he had done the rods, and said to them, Men and brethren, the tribe whose rod shall blossom has God chosen to fulfil the office of the priesthood, and to minister unto Him. And when the morning was come, he assembled all Israel, six hundred thousand men, and showed the seals to the princes of the tribes, and opened the tabernacle of witness, and brought forth the rods. And the rod of Aaron was found not only to have blossomed, but to bear fruit upon it.[1] What think ye, beloved? Did not Moses know beforehand that this would happen? Undoubtedly he knew; but he acted thus, that there might be no sedition in Israel, and that the name of the true and only God might be glorified; to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

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[1] Literally, "both things were done."

[2] Or, "confirmed by."

[3] Or, "having tested them in spirit."

[4] Or, "overseers."

[5] Or, "servants."

[6] Isa. lx. 17, Sept.; but the text is here altered by Clement. The LXX. have, "I will give thy rulers in peace, and thy overseers in righteousness."

[7] Num. xii. 10; Heb. iii. 5.

[8] Literally, "every tribe being written according to its name."

CHAP. XLIV.—*The ordinances of the apostles, that there might be no contention respecting the priestly office.*

Our apostles also knew, through our Lord Jesus Christ, that there would be strife on account of the office[2] of the episcopate. For this reason, therefore, inasmuch as they had obtained a perfect fore-knowledge of this, they appointed those [ministers] already mentioned, and afterwards gave instructions,[3] that when these should fall asleep, other approved men should succeed them in their ministry. We are of opinion, therefore, that those appointed by them,[4] or afterwards by other eminent men, with the consent of the whole church, and who have blamelessly served the flock of Christ, in a humble, peaceable, and disinterested spirit, and have for a long time possessed the good opinion of all, cannot be justly dismissed from the ministry. For our sin will not be small, if we eject from the episcopate[1] those who have blamelessly and holily fulfilled its duties.[2] Blessed are those presbyters who, having finished their course before now, have obtained a fruitful and perfect departure [from this world]; for they have no fear lest any one deprive them of the place now appointed them. But we see that ye have removed some men of excellent behaviour from the ministry, which they fulfilled blamelessly and with honour.

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[1] See Num. xvii.

[2] Literally, " on account of the title of the oversight." Some understand this to mean, " in regard to the dignity of the episcopate;" and others simply, " on account of the oversight."

[3] The meaning of this passage is much controverted. Some render, " left a list of other approved persons;" while others translate the unusual word ἐπινομὴ, which causes the difficulty, by " testamentary direction," and many others deem the text corrupt. We have given what seems the simplest version of the text as it stands.

[4] *i.e.* the apostles.

CHAP. XLV.—*It is the part of the wicked to vex the righteous.*

Ye are fond of contention, brethren, and full of zeal about things which do not pertain to salvation. Look carefully into the Scriptures, which are the true utterances of the Holy Spirit. Observe[3] that nothing of an unjust or counterfeit character is written in them. There[4] you will not find that the righteous were cast off by men who themselves were holy. The righteous were indeed persecuted, but only by the wicked. They were cast into prison, but only by the unholy; they were stoned, but only by transgressors; they were slain, but only by the accursed, and such as had conceived an unrighteous envy against them. Exposed to such sufferings, they endured them gloriously. For what shall we say, brethren? Was Daniel[5] cast into the den of lions by such as feared God? Were Ananias, and Azarias, and Mishael shut up in a furnace[6] of fire by those who observed[7] the great and glorious worship of the Most High? Far from us be such a thought! Who, then, were they that did such things? The hateful, and those full of all wickedness, were roused to such a pitch of fury, that they inflicted torture on those who served God with a holy and blameless purpose [of heart], not knowing that the Most High is the Defender and Protector of all such as with a pure conscience venerate[1] His all-excellent name; to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen. But they who with confidence endured [these things] are now heirs of glory and honour, and have been exalted and made illustrious[2] by God in their memorial for ever and ever. Amen.

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[1] Or, "oversight."

[2] Literally, "presented the offerings."

[3] Or, "Ye perceive."

[4] Or, "For."

[5] Dan. vi. 16.

[6] Dan. iii. 20.

[7] Literally, "worshipped."

CHAP. XLVI.—*Let us cleave to the righteous: your strife is pernicious.*

Such examples, therefore, brethren, it is right that we should follow;[3] since it is written, "Cleave to the holy, for those that cleave to them shall [themselves] be made holy."[4] And again, in another place, [the Scripture] saith, "With a harmless man thou shalt prove[5] thyself harmless, and with an elect man thou shalt be elect, and with a perverse man thou shalt show[6] thyself perverse."[7] Let us cleave, therefore, to the innocent and righteous, since these are the elect of God. Why are there strifes, and tumults, and divisions, and schisms, and wars[8] among you? Have we not [all] one God and one Christ? Is there not one Spirit of grace poured out upon us? And have we not one calling in Christ?[9] Why do we divide and tear in pieces the members of Christ, and raise up strife against our own body, and have reached such a height of madness as to forget that "we are members one of another?"[10] Remember the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, how[11] He said, "Woe to that man [by whom[11] offences come]! It were better for him that he had never been born, than that he should cast a stumbling-block before one of my elect. Yea, it were better for him that a millstone should be hung about [his neck], and he should be sunk in the depths of the sea, than that he should cast a stumbling-block before one of my little ones."[1] Your schism has subverted [the faith of] many, has discouraged many, has given rise to doubt in many, and has caused grief to us all. And still your sedition continueth.

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[1] Literally, "serve."

[2] Or, "lifted up."

[3] Literally, "to such examples it is right that we should cleave."

[4] Not found in Scripture.

[5] Literally, "be."

[6] Or, "thou wilt overthrow."

[7] Ps. xviii. 25, 26.

[8] Or, "war." Comp. James iv. 1.

[9] Comp. Eph. iv. 4–6.

[10] Rom. xii. 5.

[11] This clause is wanting in the text.

CHAP. XLVII.—*Your recent discord is worse than the former which took place in the times of Paul.*

Take up the epistle of the blessed Apostle Paul. What did he write to you at the time when the gospel first began to be preached?[2] Truly, under the inspiration[3] of the Spirit, he wrote to you concerning himself, and Cephas, and Apollos,[4] because even then parties[5] had been formed among you. But that inclination for one above another entailed less guilt upon you, inasmuch as your partialities were then shown towards apostles, already of high reputation, and towards a man whom they had approved. But now reflect who those are that have perverted you, and lessened the renown of your far-famed brotherly love. It is disgraceful, beloved, yea, highly disgraceful, and unworthy of your Christian profession,[6] that such a thing should be heard of as that the most stedfast and ancient church of the Corinthians should, on account of one or two persons, engage in sedition against its presbyters. And this rumour has reached not only us, but those also who are unconnected[7] with us; so that, through your infatuation, the name of the Lord is blasphemed, while danger is also brought upon yourselves.

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[1] Comp. Matt. xviii. 6, xxvi. 24; Mark ix. 42; Luke xvii. 2.

[2] Literally, "in the beginning of the gospel."

[3] Or, "spiritually."

[4] 1 Cor. iii. 13, etc.

[5] Or, "inclinations for one above another."

[6] Literally, "of conduct in Christ."

[7] Or, "aliens from us," *i.e.* the Gentiles.

CHAP. XLVIII.—*Let us return to the practice of brotherly love.*

Let us therefore, with all haste, put an end[1] to this [state of things]; and let us fall down before the Lord, and beseech Him with tears, that He would mercifully[2] be reconciled to us, and restore us to our former seemly and holy practice of brotherly love. For [such conduct] is the gate of righteousness, which is set open for the attainment of life, as it is written, "Open to me the gates of righteousness; I will go in by them, and will praise the Lord: this is the gate of the Lord: the righteous shall enter in by it."[3] Although, therefore, many gates have been set open, yet this gate of righteousness is that gate in Christ by which blessed are all they that have entered in and have directed their way in holiness and righteousness, doing all things without disorder. Let a man be faithful: let him be powerful in the utterance of knowledge; let him be wise in judging of words; let him be pure in all his deeds; yet the more he seems to be superior to others [in these respects], the more humble-minded ought he to be, and to seek the common good of all, and not merely his own advantage.

CHAP. XLIX.—*The praise of love.*

Let him who has love in Christ keep the commandments of Christ. Who can describe the [blessed] bond of the love of God? What man is able to tell the excellence of its beauty, as it ought to be told? The height to which love exalts is unspeakable. Love unites us to God. Love covers a multitude of sins.[4] Love beareth all things, is long-suffering in all things.[5] There is nothing base, nothing arrogant in love. Love admits of no schisms: love gives rise to no seditions: love does all things in harmony. By love have all the elect of God been made perfect; without love nothing is well-pleasing to God. In love has the Lord taken us to Himself.

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[1] Literally, "remove."

[2] Literally, "becoming merciful."

[3] Ps. cxviii. 19, 20.

[4] James v. 20; 1 Pet. iv. 8.

[5] Comp. 1 Cor. xiii. 4, etc.

On account of the love He bore us, Jesus Christ our Lord gave His blood for us by the will of God; His flesh for our flesh, and His soul for our souls.

Chap. l.—*Let us pray to be thought worthy of love.*

Ye see, beloved, how great and wonderful a thing is love, and that there is no declaring its perfection. Who is fit to be found in it, except such as God has vouchsafed to render so? Let us pray, therefore, and implore of His mercy, that we may live blameless in love, free from all human partialities for one above another. All the generations from Adam even unto this day have passed away; but those who, through the grace of God, have been made perfect in love, now possess a place among the godly, and shall be made manifest at the revelation[1] of the kingdom of Christ. For it is written, "Enter into thy secret chambers for a little time, until my wrath and fury pass away; and I will remember a propitious[2] day, and will raise you up out of your graves."[3] Blessed are we, beloved, if we keep the commandments of God in the harmony of love; that so through love our sins may be forgiven us. For it is written, "Blessed are they whose transgressions are forgiven, and whose sins are covered. Blessed is the man whose sin the Lord will not impute to him, and in whose mouth there is no guile."[4] This blessedness cometh upon those who have been chosen by God through Jesus Christ our Lord; to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

Chap. li.—*Let the partakers in strife acknowledge their sins.*

Let us therefore implore forgiveness for all those transgressions which through any [suggestion] of the adversary we have committed. And those who have been the leaders of sedition and disagreement ought to have respect[5] to the common hope. For such as live in fear and love would rather that they themselves than their neighbours should be involved in suffering. And they prefer to bear blame themselves, rather than that the concord which has been well and piously[1] handed down to us should suffer. For it is better that a man should acknowledge his transgressions than that he should harden his heart, as the hearts of those were hardened who stirred up sedition against Moses the servant of God, and whose condemnation was made manifest [unto all]. For they went down alive into Hades, and death swallowed them up.[2] Pharaoh with his army and all the princes of Egypt, and the chariots with their riders, were sunk in the depths of the Red Sea, and perished,[3] for no other reason than that their foolish hearts were hardened, after so many signs and wonders had been wrought in the land of Egypt by Moses the servant of God.

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[1] Literally, "visitation."

[2] Or, "good."

[3] Isa. xxvi. 20.

[4] Ps. xxxii. 1, 2.

[5] Or, "look to."

CHAP. LII.—*Such a confession is pleasing to God.*

The Lord, brethren, stands in need of nothing; and He desires nothing of any one, except that confession be made to Him. For, says the elect David, "I will confess unto the Lord; and that will please Him more than a young bullock that hath horns and hoofs. Let the poor see it, and be glad."[4] And again he saith, "Offer[5] unto God the sacrifice of praise, and pay thy vows unto the Most High. And call upon me in the day of thy trouble: I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me."[6] For "the sacrifice of God is a broken spirit."[7]

CHAP. LIII.—*The love of Moses towards his people.*

Ye understand, beloved, ye understand well the sacred Scriptures, and ye have looked very earnestly into the oracles of God. Call then these things to your remembrance. When Moses went up into the mount, and abode there, with fasting and humiliation, forty days and forty nights, the Lord said unto him, "Moses, Moses, get thee down quickly from hence; for thy people whom thou didst bring out of the land of Egypt have committed iniquity. They have speedily departed from the way in which I commanded them to walk, and have made to themselves molten images."[1] And the Lord said unto him, "I have spoken to thee once and again, saying, I have seen this people, and, behold, it is a stiff-necked people: let me destroy them, and blot out their name from under heaven; and I will make thee a great and wonderful nation, and one much more numerous than this."[2] But Moses said, "Far be it from Thee, Lord: pardon the sin of this people; else blot me also out of the book of the living."[3] O marvellous[4] love! O insuperable perfection! The servant speaks freely to his Lord, and asks forgiveness for the people, or begs that he himself might perish[5] along with them.

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[1] Or, "righteously."

[2] Num. xvi.

[3] Ex. xiv.

[4] Ps. lxix. 31, 32.

[5] Or, "sacrifice."

[6] Ps. l. 14, 15.

[7] Ps. li. 17.

CHAP. LIV.—*He who is full of love will incur every loss, that peace may be restored to the church.*

Who then among you is noble-minded? who compassionate? who full of love? Let him declare, "If on my account sedition and disagreement and schisms have arisen, I will depart, I will go away whithersoever ye desire, and I will do whatever the majority[6] commands; only let the flock of Christ live on terms of peace with the presbyters set over it." He that acts thus shall procure to himself great glory in the Lord; and every place will welcome[7] him. For "the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof."[8] These things they who live a godly life, that is never to be repented of, both have done and always will do.

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[1] Ex. xxxii. 7, etc.; Deut. ix. 12, etc.

[2] Ex. xxxii. 9, etc.

[3] Ex. xxxii. 32.

[4] Or, "mighty."

[5] Literally, "be wiped out."

[6] Literally, "the multitude."

[7] Or, "receive."

[8] Ps. xxiv. 1; 1 Cor. x. 26, 28.

CHAP. LV.—*Examples of such love.*

To bring forward some examples from among the heathen: Many kings and princes, in times of pestilence, when they had been instructed by an oracle, have given themselves up to death, in order that by their own blood they might deliver their fellow-citizens [from destruction]. Many have gone forth from their own cities, that so sedition might be brought to an end within them. We know many among ourselves who have given themselves up to bonds, in order that they might ransom others. Many, too, have surrendered themselves to slavery, that with the price[1] which they received for themselves, they might provide food for others. Many women also, being strengthened by the grace of God, have performed numerous manly exploits. The blessed Judith, when her city was besieged, asked of the elders permission to go forth into the camp of the strangers; and, exposing herself to danger, she went out for the love which she bare to her country and people then besieged; and the Lord delivered Holofernes into the hands of a woman.[2] Esther also, being perfect in faith, exposed herself to no less danger, in order to deliver the twelve tribes of Israel from impending destruction. For with fasting and humiliation she entreated the everlasting God, who seeth all things; and He, perceiving the humility of her spirit, delivered the people for whose sake she had encountered peril.[3]

CHAP. LVI.—*Let us admonish and correct one another.*

Let us then also pray for those who have fallen into any sin, that meekness and humility may be given to them, so that they may submit, not unto us, but to the will of God. For in this way they shall secure a fruitful and perfect remembrance from us, with sympathy for them, both in our prayers to God, and our mention of them to the saints.[4] Let us receive correction, beloved, on account of which no one should feel displeased. Those exhortations by which we admonish one another are both good [in themselves], and highly profitable, for they tend to unite[1] us to the will of God. For thus saith the holy Word: "The Lord hath severely chastened me, yet hath not given me over to death."[2] "For whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom He receiveth."[3] "The righteous," saith it, "shall chasten me in mercy, and reprove me; but let not the oil of sinners make fat my head."[4] And again he saith, "Blessed is the man whom the Lord reproveth, and reject not thou the warning of the Almighty. For He causes sorrow, and again restores [to gladness]; He woundeth, and His hands make whole. He shall deliver thee in six troubles, yea, in the seventh no evil shall touch thee. In famine He shall rescue thee from death, and in war He shall free thee from the power[5] of the sword. From the scourge of the tongue will He hide thee, and thou shalt not fear when evil cometh. Thou shalt laugh at the unrighteous and the wicked, and shalt not be afraid of the beasts of the field. For the wild beasts shall be at peace with thee: then shalt thou know that thy house shall be in peace, and the habitation of thy tabernacle shall not fail.[6] Thou shalt know also that thy seed shall be great, and thy children like the grass of the field. And thou shalt come to the grave like ripened corn which is reaped in its season, or like a heap of the threshing-floor which is gathered together at the proper time."[7] Ye see, beloved, that protection is afforded to those that are chastened of the Lord; for since God is good, He corrects us, that we may be admonished by His holy chastisement.

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[1] Literally, "and having received their prices, fed others."

[2] Judith viii. 30.

[3] Esther vii. viii.

[4] Literally, "there shall be to them a fruitful and perfect remembrance, with compassions both towards God and the saints."

CHAP. LVII.—*Let the authors of sedition submit themselves.*

Ye therefore, who laid the foundation of this sedition, submit yourselves to the presbyters, and receive correction so as to repent, bending the knees of your hearts. Learn to be subject, laying aside the proud and arrogant self-confidence of your tongue. For it is better for you that ye should occupy[1] a humble but honourable place in the flock of Christ, than that, being highly exalted, ye should be cast out from the hope of His people.[2] For thus speaketh all-virtuous Wisdom: "Behold, I will bring forth to you the words of my Spirit, and I will teach you my speech. Since I called, and ye did not hear; I held forth my words, and ye regarded not, but set at naught my counsels, and yielded not at my reproofs; therefore I too will laugh at your destruction; yea, I will rejoice when ruin cometh upon you, and when sudden confusion overtakes you, when overturning presents itself like a tempest, or when tribulation and oppression fall upon you. For it shall come to pass, that when ye call upon me, I will not hear you; the wicked shall seek me, and they shall not find me. For they hated wisdom, and did not choose the fear of the Lord; nor would they listen to my counsels, but despised my reproofs. Wherefore they shall eat the fruits of their own way, and they shall be filled with their own ungodliness."[3] . . .[4]

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[1] Or, "they unite."

[2] Ps. cxviii. 18.

[3] Prov. iii. 12: Heb. xii. 6.

[4] Ps. cxli. 5.

[5] Literally, "hand."

[6] Literally, "err" or "sin."

[7] Job v. 17–26.

CHAP. LVIII.—*Blessings sought for all that call upon God.*

May God, who seeth all things, and who is the Ruler of all spirits and the Lord of all flesh—who chose our Lord Jesus Christ and us through Him to be a peculiar[5] people—grant to every soul that calleth upon His glorious and holy name, faith, fear, peace, patience, long-suffering, self-control, purity, and sobriety, to the well-pleasing of His name, through our High Priest and Protector, Jesus Christ, by whom be to Him glory, and majesty, and power, and honour, both now and for evermore. Amen.

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[1] Literally, "to be found small and esteemed."

[2] Literally, "His hope."

[3] Prov. i. 23–31.

[4] Junius (Pat. Young), who examined the MS. before it was bound into its present form, stated that a whole leaf was here lost. The next letters that occur are *ιπον*, which have been supposed to indicate *εἶπον* or *ἔλιπον*. Doubtless some passages quoted by the ancients from the Epistle of Clement, and not now found in it, occurred in the portion which has thus been lost.

[5] Comp. Tit. ii. 14.

CHAP. LIX.—*The Corinthians are exhorted speedily to send back word that peace has been restored. The benediction.*

Send back speedily to us in peace and with joy these our messengers to you: Claudius Ephebus and Valerius Bito, with Fortunatus; that they may the sooner announce to us the peace and harmony we so earnestly desire and long for [among you], and that we may the more quickly rejoice over the good order re-established among you. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you, and with all everywhere that are the called of God through Him, by whom be to Him glory, honour, power, majesty, and eternal dominion,[1] from everlasting to everlasting.[2] Amen.

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[1] Literally, "an eternal throne."

[2] Literally, "from the ages to the ages of ages."

THE SECOND EPISTLE OF CLEMENT.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

THE first certain reference which is made by any early writer to this so-called Epistle of Clement is found in these words of Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* iii. 38): "We must know that there is also a second Epistle of Clement. But we do not regard it as being equally notable with the former, since we know of none of the ancients that have made use of it." Several critics in modern times have endeavoured to vindicate the authenticity of this epistle. But it is now generally regarded as one of the many writings which have been falsely ascribed to Clement. Besides the want of external evidence, indicated even by Eusebius in the above extract, the diversity of style clearly points to a different writer from that of the first epistle. A commonly accepted opinion among critics at the present day is, that this is not an epistle at all, but a fragment of one of the many homilies falsely ascribed to Clement. There can be no doubt, however, that in the catalogue of writings contained in the Alexandrian MS. it is both styled an epistle, and, as well as the other which accompanies it, is attributed to Clement. As the MS. is certainly not later than the fifth century, the opinion referred to must by that time have taken firm root in the church; but in the face of internal evidence, and in want of all earlier testimony, such a fact goes but a small way to establish its authenticity.

THE SECOND EPISTLE OF CLEMENT.[1]

CHAP. I.—*We ought to think highly of Christ.*

BRETHREN, it is fitting that you should think of Jesus Christ as of God,—as the Judge of the living and the dead. And it does not become us to think lightly of our salvation; for if we think little of Him, we shall also hope but to obtain little [from Him]. And those of us who hear carelessly of these things, as if they were of small importance, commit sin, not knowing whence we have been called, and by whom, and to what place, and how much Jesus Christ submitted to suffer for our sakes. What return, then, shall we make to Him? or what fruit that shall be worthy of that which He has given to us? For, indeed, how great are the benefits[2] which we owe to Him! He has graciously given us light; as a Father, He has called us sons; He has saved us when we were ready to perish. What praise, then, shall we give to Him, or what return shall we make for the things which we have received?[3] We were deficient[4] in understanding, worshipping stones and wood, and gold, and silver, and brass, the works of men's hands;[5] and our whole life was nothing else than death. Involved in blindness, and with such darkness[6] before our eyes, we have received sight, and through His will have laid aside that cloud by which we were enveloped. For He had compassion on us, and mercifully saved us, observing the many errors in which we were entangled, as well as the destruction to which we were exposed,[1] and that we had no hope of salvation except it came to us from Him. For He called us when we were not,[2] and willed that out of nothing we should attain a real existence.[3]

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[1] No title, not even a letter, is preserved in the MS.

[2] Literally, "holy things."

[3] Comp. Ps. cxvi. 12.

[4] Literally, "lame."

[5] Literally, "of men."

[6] Literally, "being full of such darkness in our sight."

CHAP. II.—*The church, formerly barren, is now fruitful.*

"Rejoice, thou barren that bearest not; break forth and cry, thou that travailest not; for she that is desolate hath many more children than she that hath an husband."[4] In that He said, "Rejoice, thou barren that bearest not," He referred to us, for our church was barren before that children were given to her. But when He said, "Cry out, thou that travailest not," He means this, that we should sincerely offer up our prayers to God, and should not, like women in travail, show signs of weakness.[5] And in that He said, "For she that is desolate hath many more children than she that hath an husband," [He means] that our people seemed to be outcast from God, but now, through believing, have become more numerous than those who are reckoned to possess God.[6] And another Scripture saith, "I came not to call the righteous, but sinners."[7] This means that those who are perishing must be saved. For it is indeed a great and admirable thing to establish not the things which are standing, but those that are falling. Thus also did Christ desire to save the things which were perishing,[8] and has saved many by coming and calling us when hastening to destruction.[9]

[1] Literally, "having beheld in us much error and destruction."

[2] Comp. Hos. ii. 23; Rom. iv. 17, ix. 25.

[3] Literally, "willed us from not being to be."

[4] Isa. liv. 1; Gal. iv. 27.

[5] Some render, "should not cry out, like women in travail." The text is doubtful.

[6] It has been remarked that the writer here implies he was a Gentile.

[7] Matt. ix. 13; Luke v. 32.

[8] Comp. Matt. xviii. 11.

[9] Literally, "already perishing."

CHAP. III.—*The duty of confessing Christ*

Since, then, He has displayed so great mercy towards us, and especially in this respect, that we who are living should not offer sacrifices to gods that are dead, or pay them worship, but should attain through Him to the knowledge of the true Father, whereby shall we show that we do indeed know Him,[1] but by not denying Him through whom this knowledge has been attained? For He himself declares, "Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess before my Father."[2] This, then, is our reward if we shall confess Him by whom we have been saved. But in what way shall we confess Him? By doing what He says, and not transgressing His commandments, and by honouring Him not with our lips only, but with all our heart and all our mind.[3] For He says in Isaiah, "This people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me."[4]

CHAP. IV.—*True confession of Christ.*

Let us, then, not only call Him Lord, for that will not save us. For He saith, "Not every one that saith to me, Lord, Lord, shall be saved, but he that worketh righteousness."[5] Wherefore, brethren, let us confess Him by our works, by loving one another, by not committing adultery, or speaking evil of one another, or cherishing envy; but being continent, compassionate, and good. We ought also to sympathize with one another, and not be avaricious. By such works let us confess Him,[6] and not by those that are of an opposite kind. And it is not fitting that we should fear men, but rather God. For this reason, if we should do such [wicked] things, the Lord hath said, "Even though ye were gathered together to[7] me in my very bosom, yet if ye were not to keep my commandments, I would cast you off, and say unto you, Depart from me; I know you not whence ye are, ye workers of iniquity."[1]

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[1] Literally, "what is the knowledge which is towards Him."

[2] Matt. x. 32.

[3] Comp. Matt. xxii. 37.

[4] Isa. xxix. 13.

[5] Matt. vii. 21, loosely quoted.

[6] Some read, "God."

[7] Or, "with me."

CHAP. V.—*This world should be despised.*

Wherefore, brethren, leaving [willingly] our sojourn in this present world, let us do the will of Him that called us, and not fear to depart out of this world. For the Lord saith, "Ye shall be as lambs in the midst of wolves."[2] And Peter answered and said unto Him,[3] "What, then, if the wolves shall tear in pieces the lambs?" Jesus said unto Peter, "The lambs have no cause after they are dead to fear[4] the wolves; and in like manner, fear not ye them that kill you, and can do nothing more unto you; but fear Him who, after you are dead, has power over both soul and body to cast them into hell-fire."[5] And consider,[6] brethren, that the sojourning in the flesh in this world is but brief and transient, but the promise of Christ is great and wonderful, even the rest of the kingdom to come, and of life everlasting.[7] By what course of conduct, then, shall we attain these things, but by leading a holy and righteous life, and by deeming these worldly things as not belonging to us, and not fixing our desires upon them? For if we desire to possess them, we fall away from the path of righteousness.

CHAP. VI.—*The present and future worlds are enemies to each other.*

Now the Lord declares, "No servant can serve two masters."[8] If we desire, then, to serve both God and mammon, it will be unprofitable for us. "For what will it profit if a man gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?"[1] This world and the next are two enemies. The one urges[2] to adultery and corruption, avarice and deceit; the other bids farewell to these things. We cannot therefore be the friends of both; and it behoves us, by renouncing the one, to make sure[3] of the other. Let us reckon[4] that it is better to hate the things present, since they are trifling, and transient, and corruptible; and to love those [which are to come,] as being good and incorruptible. For if we do the will of Christ, we shall find rest; otherwise, nothing shall deliver us from eternal punishment, if we disobey His commandments. For thus also saith the Scripture in Ezekiel, "If Noah, Job, and Daniel should rise up, they should not deliver their children in captivity."[5] Now, if men so eminently righteous are not able by their righteousness to deliver their children, how[6] can we hope to enter into the royal residence[7] of God unless we keep our baptism holy and undefiled? Or who shall be our advocate, unless we be found possessed of works of holiness and righteousness?

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[1] The first part of this sentence is not found in Scripture; for the second, comp. Matt. vii. 23, Luke xiii. 27.

[2] Matt. x. 16.

[3] No such conversation is recorded in Scripture.

[4] Or, "Let not the lambs fear."

[5] Matt. x. 28; Luke xii. 4, 5.

[6] Or, "know."

[7] The text and translation are here doubtful.

[8] Matt. vi. 24; Luke xvi. 13.

CHAP. VII.—*We must strive in order to be crowned.*

Wherefore, then, my brethren, let us struggle with all earnestness, knowing that the contest is [in our case] close at hand, and that many undertake long voyages to strive for a corruptible reward;[8] yet all are not crowned, but those only that have laboured hard and striven gloriously. Let us therefore so strive, that we may all be crowned. Let us run the straight[9] course, even the race that is incorruptible; and let us in great numbers set out[10] for it, and strive that we may be crowned. And should we not all be able to obtain the crown, let us at least come near to it. We must remember[1] that he who strives in the corruptible contest, if he be found acting unfairly,[2] is taken away and scourged, and cast forth from the lists. What then think ye? If one does anything unseemly in the incorruptible contest, what shall *he* have to bear? For of those who do not preserve the seal[3] [unbroken], [the Scripture] saith, "Their worm shall not die, and their fire shall not be quenched, and they shall be a spectacle to all flesh."[4]

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[1] Matt. xvi. 26. [2] Literally, "speaks of." [3] Or, "enjoy."

[4] The MS. has, "we reckon." [5] Ezek. xiv. 14, 20.

[6] Literally, "with what confidence shall we."

[7] Wake translates "kingdom," as if the reading had been *βασιλείαν*; but the MS. has *βασίλειον*, "palace."

[8] Literally, "that many set sail for corruptible contests," referring probably to the concourse at the Isthmian games.

[9] Or, "Let us place before us." [10] Or, "set sail."

CHAP. VIII.—*The necessity of repentance while we are on earth.*

As long, therefore, as we are upon earth, let us practise repentance, for we are as clay in the hand of the artificer. For as the potter, if he make a vessel, and it be distorted or broken in his hands, fashions it over again; but if he have before this cast it into the furnace of fire, can no longer find any help for it: so let us also, while we are in this world, repent with our whole heart of the evil deeds we have done in the flesh, that we may be saved by the Lord, while we have yet an opportunity of repentance. For after we have gone out of the world, no further power of confessing or repenting will there belong to us. Wherefore, brethren, by doing the will of the Father, and keeping the flesh holy, and observing the commandments of the Lord, we shall obtain eternal life. For the Lord saith in the Gospel, "If ye have not kept that which was small, who will commit to you the great? For I say unto you, that he that is faithful in that which is least, is faithful also in much."[5] This, then, is what He means: "Keep the flesh holy and the seal undefiled, that [6]ye may receive eternal life."[7]

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[1] Literally, "know."

[2] Literally, "if he be found corrupting."

[3] Baptism is probably meant.

[4] Isa. lxvi. 24.

[5] Comp. Luke xvi. 10–12.

[6] MS. has "we," which is corrected by all editors as above.

[7] Some have thought this a quotation from an unknown apocryphal book, but it seems rather an explanation of the preceding words.

CHAP. IX.—*We shall be judged in the flesh.*

And let no one of you say that this very flesh shall not be judged, nor rise again. Consider ye in what [state] ye were saved, in what ye received sight,[1] if not while ye were in this flesh. We must therefore preserve the flesh as the temple of God. For as ye were called in the flesh, ye shall also come [to be judged] in the flesh. As Christ[2] the Lord who saved us, though He was first a Spirit, became flesh, and thus called us, so shall we also receive the reward in this flesh. Let us therefore love one another, that we may all attain to the kingdom of God. While we have an opportunity of being healed, let us yield ourselves to God that healeth us, and give to Him a recompense. Of what sort? Repentance out of a sincere heart; for He knows all things beforehand, and is acquainted with what is in our hearts. Let us therefore give Him praise, not with the mouth only, but also with the heart, that He may accept us as sons. For the Lord has said, "Those are my brethren who do the will of my Father."[3]

CHAP. X.—*Vice is to be forsaken, and virtue followed.*

Wherefore, my brethren, let us do the will of the Father who called us, that we may live; and let us earnestly[4] follow after virtue, but forsake every wicked tendency[5] which would lead us into transgression; and flee from ungodliness, lest evils overtake us. For if we are diligent in doing good, peace will follow us. On this account, such men cannot find it [*i.e.* peace] as are[6] influenced by human terrors, and prefer rather present enjoyment to the promise which shall afterwards be fulfilled. For they know not what torment present enjoyment incurs, or what felicity is involved in the future promise. And if, indeed, they themselves only did such things, it would be [the more] tolerable; but now they persist in imbuing innocent souls with their pernicious doctrines, not knowing that they shall receive a double condemnation, both they and those that hear them.

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[1] Literally, "looked up."

[2] The MS. has εἷς, "one," which Wake follows, but it seems clearly a mistake for ὡς.

[3] Matt. xii. 50.

[4] Literally, "rather."

[5] Literally, "malice, as it were, the precursor of our sins." Some deem the text corrupt.

[6] Literally, according to the MS., "it is not possible that a man should find it who *are*"—the passage being evidently corrupt.

CHAP. XI.—*We ought to serve God, trusting in His promises.*

Let us therefore serve God with a pure heart, and we shall be righteous; but if we do not serve Him, because we believe not the promise of God, we shall be miserable. For the prophetic word also declares, "Wretched are those of a double mind, and who doubt in their heart, who say, All these things have we heard even in the times of our fathers; but though we have waited day by day, we have seen none of them [accomplished]. Ye fools! compare yourselves to a tree; take, for instance, the vine. First of all it sheds its leaves, then the bud appears; after that the sour grape, and then the fully-ripened fruit. So, likewise, my people have borne disturbances and afflictions, but afterwards shall they receive their good things."[1] Wherefore, my brethren, let us not be of a double mind, but let us hope and endure, that we also may obtain the reward. For He is faithful who has promised that He will bestow on every one a reward according to his works. If, therefore, we shall do righteousness in the sight of God, we shall enter into His kingdom, and shall receive the promises, "which ear hath not heard, nor eye seen, neither have entered into the heart of man."[2]

CHAP. XII.—*We are constantly to look for the kingdom of God.*

Let us expect, therefore, hour by hour, the kingdom of God in love and righteousness, since we know not the day of the appearing of God. For the Lord Himself, being asked by one when His kingdom would come, replied, "When two shall be one, and that which is without as that which is within, and the male with the female, neither male nor female."[1] Now, two are one when we speak the truth one to another, and there is unfeignedly one soul in two bodies. And "that which is without as that which is within" meaneth this: He calls the soul "that which is within," and the body "that which is without." As, then, thy body is visible to sight, so also let thy soul be manifest by good works. And "the male with the female, neither male nor female, this"[2] . . .

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[1] The same words occur in Clement's first epistle, chap. xxiii.

[2] 1 Cor. ii. 9.

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[1] These words are quoted (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 9, 13) from the Gospel according to the Egyptians, no longer extant.

[2] Thus ends the MS., but what followed will be found in Clem. Alex. as just cited.

THE EPISTLE OF POLYCARP.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

THE authenticity of the following epistle can on no fair grounds be questioned. It is abundantly established by external testimony, and is also supported by the internal evidence. Irenæus says (*Adv. Hær.* iii. 3): "There is extant an epistle of Polycarp written to the Philippians, most satisfactory, from which those that have a mind to do so may learn the character of his faith," etc. This passage is embodied by Eusebius in his *Ecclesiastical History* (iv. 14); and in another place the same writer refers to the epistle before us as an undoubted production of Polycarp (*Hist. Eccl.* iii. 36). Other ancient testimonies might easily be added, but are superfluous, inasmuch as there is a general consent among scholars at the present day that we have in this letter an authentic production of the renowned Bishop of Smyrna.

Of Polycarp's life little is known, but that little is highly interesting. Irenæus was his disciple, and tells us that "Polycarp was instructed by the apostles, and was brought into contact with many who had seen Christ" (*Adv. Hær.* iii. 3; Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 14). There is also a very graphic account given of Polycarp by Irenæus in his epistle to Florinus, to which the reader is referred. It has been preserved by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* v. 20).

The epistle before us is not perfect in any of the Greek MSS. which contain it. But the chapters wanting in Greek are contained in an ancient Latin version. While there is no ground for supposing, as some have done, that the whole epistle is spurious, there seems considerable force in the arguments by which many others have sought to prove chap. xiii. to be an interpolation.

The date of the epistle cannot be satisfactorily determined. It depends on the conclusion we reach as to some points, very difficult and obscure, connected with that account of the martyrdom of Polycarp which has come down to us. We shall not, however, probably be far wrong if we fix it about the middle of the second century.

THE EPISTLE OF POLYCARP TO THE PHILIPPIANS.[1]

POLYCARP, and the presbyters[2] with him, to the church of God sojourning at Philippi: Mercy to you, and peace from God Almighty, and from the Lord Jesus Christ, our Saviour, be multiplied.

CHAP. I.—*Praise of the Philippians.*

I have greatly rejoiced with you in our Lord Jesus Christ, because ye have followed the example[3] of true love [as displayed by God], and have accompanied, as became you, those who were bound in chains, the fitting ornaments of saints, and which are indeed the diadems of the true elect of God and our Lord; and because the strong root of your faith, spoken of in days[4] long gone by, endureth even until now, and bringeth forth fruit to our Lord Jesus Christ, who for our sins suffered even unto death, [but] "whom God raised from the dead, having loosed the bands of the grave."[5] "In whom, though now ye see Him not, ye believe, and believing, rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory;"[6] into which joy many desire to enter, knowing that "by grace ye are saved, not of works,"[1] but by the will of God through Jesus Christ.

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[1] The title of this epistle in most of the MSS. is, "The Epistle of St Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, and holy martyr, to the Philippians."

[2] Or, "Polycarp, and those who with him are presbyters."

[3] Literally, "ye have received the patterns of true love."

[4] Phil. i. 5.

[5] Acts ii. 24. Literally, "having loosed the pains of Hades."

[6] 1 Pet. i. 8.

Chap. II.—*An exhortation to virtue.*

"Wherefore, girding up your loins,"[2] "serve the Lord in fear"[3] and truth, as those who have forsaken the vain, empty talk and error of the multitude, and "believed in Him who raised up our Lord Jesus Christ from the dead, and gave Him glory,"[4] and a throne at His right hand. To Him all things[5] in heaven and on earth are subject. Him every spirit serves. He comes as the Judge of the living and the dead.[6] His blood will God require of those who do not believe in Him.[7] But He who raised Him up from the dead will raise[8] up us also, if we do His will, and walk in His commandments, and love what He loved, keeping ourselves from all unrighteousness, covetousness, love of money, evil-speaking, false-witness; "not rendering evil for evil, or railing for railing,"[9] or blow for blow, or cursing for cursing, but being mindful of what the Lord said in His teaching: "Judge not, that ye be not judged;[10] forgive, and it shall be forgiven unto you;[11] be merciful, that ye may obtain mercy;[12] with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again;"[13] and once more, "Blessed are the poor, and those that are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of God."[14]

Chap. III.—*Expressions of personal unworthiness.*

These things, brethren, I write to you concerning righteousness, not because I take anything upon myself, but because ye have invited me to do so. For neither I, nor any other such one, can come up to the wisdom[1] of the blessed and glorified Paul. He, when among you, accurately and stedfastly taught the word of truth in the presence of those who were then alive. And when absent from you, he wrote you a letter,[2] which, if you carefully study, you will find to be the means of building you up in that faith which has been given you, and which, being followed by hope, and preceded by love towards God, and Christ, and our neighbour, "is the mother of us all."[3] For if any one be inwardly possessed of these graces, he hath fulfilled the command of righteousness, since he that hath love is far from all sin.

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[1] Eph. ii. 8, 9.

[2] Comp. 1 Pet. i. 13; Eph. vi. 14.

[3] Ps. ii. 11.

[4] 1 Pet. i. 21.

[5] Comp. 1 Pet. iii. 22; Phil. ii. 10.

[6] Comp. Acts xvii. 31.

[7] Or, "who do not obey Him."

[8] Comp. 1 Cor. vi. 14; 2 Cor. iv. 14; Rom. viii. 11.

[9] 1 Pet. iii. 9.

[10] Matt. vii. 1.

[11] Matt. vi. 12, 14; Luke vi. 37.

[12] Luke vi. 36.

[13] Matt. vii. 2; Luke vi. 38.

[14] Matt. v. 3, 10; Luke vi. 20.

CHAP. IV.—*Various exhortations.*

"But the love of money is the root of all evils."[4] Knowing, therefore, that "as we brought nothing into the world, so we can carry nothing out,"[5] let us arm ourselves with the armour of righteousness;[6] and let us teach, first of all, ourselves to walk in the commandments of the Lord. Next, [teach] your wives [to walk] in the faith given to them, and in love and purity tenderly loving their own husbands in all truth, and loving all [others] equally in all chastity; and to train up their children in the knowledge and fear of God. Teach the widows to be discreet as respects the faith of the Lord, praying continually[7] for all, being far from all slandering, evil-speaking, false-witnessing, love of money, and every kind of evil; knowing that they are the altar[8] of God, that He clearly perceives all things, and that nothing is hid from Him, neither reasonings, nor reflections, nor any one of the secret things of the heart.

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[1] Comp. 2 Pet. iii. 15.

[2] The form is plural, but one epistle is probably meant.

[3] Comp. Gal. iv. 26.

[4] 1 Tim. vi. 10.

[5] 1 Tim. vi. 7.

[6] Comp. Eph. vi. 11.

[7] Comp. 1 Thess. v. 17.

[8] Some here read, "altars."

CHAP. V.—*The duties of deacons, youths, and virgins.*

Knowing, then, that "God is not mocked,"[1] we ought to walk worthy of His commandment and glory. In like manner should the deacons be blameless before the face of His righteousness, as being the servants of God and Christ,[2] and not of men. They must not be slanderers, double-tongued,[3] or lovers of money, but temperate in all things, compassionate, industrious, walking according to the truth of the Lord, who was the servant[4] of all. If we please Him in this present world, we shall receive also the future world, according as He has promised to us that He will raise us again from the dead, and that if we live[5] worthily of Him, "we shall also reign together with Him,"[6] provided only we believe. In like manner, let the young men also be blameless in all things, being especially careful to preserve purity, and keeping themselves in, as with a bridle, from every kind of evil. For it is well that they should be cut off from[7] the lusts that are in the world, since "every lust warreth against the spirit;"[8] and "neither fornicators, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, shall inherit the kingdom of God,"[9] nor those who do things inconsistent and unbecoming. Wherefore, it is needful to abstain from all these things, being subject to the presbyters and deacons, as unto God and Christ. The virgins also must walk in a blameless and pure conscience.

CHAP. VI.—*The duties of presbyters and others.*

And let the presbyters be compassionate and merciful to all, bringing back those that wander, visiting all the sick, and not neglecting the widow, the orphan, or the poor, but always "providing for that which is becoming in the sight of God and men;"[1] abstaining from all wrath, respect of persons, and unjust judgment; keeping far off from all covetousness, not quickly crediting [an evil report] against any one, not severe in judgment, as knowing that we are all under a debt of sin. If then we entreat the Lord to forgive us, we ought also ourselves to forgive;[2] for we are before the eyes of our Lord and God, and "we must all appear at the judgment-seat of Christ, and must every one give an account of himself."[3] Let us then serve Him in fear, and with all reverence, even as He Himself has commanded us, and as the apostles who preached the gospel unto us, and the prophets who proclaimed beforehand the coming of the Lord [have alike taught us]. Let us be zealous in the pursuit of that which is good, keeping ourselves from causes of offence, from false brethren, and from those who in hypocrisy bear the name of the Lord, and draw away vain men into error.

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[1] Gal. vi. 7.

[2] Some read, "God in Christ."

[3] Comp. 1 Tim. iii. 8.

[4] Comp. Matt. xx. 28.

[5] *Πολιτευσώμεθα*, referring to the whole conduct; comp. Phil. i. 27.

[6] 2 Tim. ii. 12.

[7] Some read, *ἀνακύπτεσθαι*, "to emerge from."

[8] 1 Pet. ii. 11.

[9] 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10.

CHAP. VII.—*Avoid the Docetæ, and persevere in fasting and prayer.*

"For whosoever does not confess that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh, is antichrist;"[4] and whosoever does not confess the testimony of the cross,[5] is of the devil; and whosoever perverts the oracles of the Lord to his own lusts, and says that there is neither a resurrection nor a judgment, he is the first-born of Satan. Wherefore, forsaking the vanity of many, and their false doctrines, let us return to the word which has been handed down to us from[6] the beginning; "watching unto prayer,"[7] and persevering in fasting; beseeching in our supplications the all-seeing God "not to lead us into temptation,"[8] as the Lord has said: "The spirit truly is willing, but the flesh is weak."[9]

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[1] Rom. xii. 17; 2 Cor. viii. 21.

[2] Matt. vi. 12–14.

[3] Rom. xiv. 10–12; 2 Cor. v. 10.

[4] 1 John iv. 3.

[5] Literally, "the martyrdom of the cross," which some render, "His suffering on the cross."

[6] Comp. Jude 3.

[7] 1 Pet. iv. 7.

[8] Matt. vi. 13, xxvi. 41.

[9] Matt. xxvi. 41; Mark xiv. 38.

Chap. viii.—*Persevere in hope and patience.*

Let us then continually persevere in our hope, and the earnest of our righteousness, which is Jesus Christ, "who bore our sins in His own body on the tree,"[1] "who did no sin, neither was guile found in His mouth,"[2] but endured all things for us, that we might live in Him.[3] Let us then be imitators of His patience; and if we suffer[4] for His name's sake, let us glorify Him.[5] For He has set us this example[6] in Himself, and we have believed that such is the case.

Chap. ix.—*Patience inculcated.*

I exhort you all, therefore, to yield obedience to the word of righteousness, and to exercise all patience, such as ye have seen [set] before your eyes, not only in the case of the blessed Ignatius, and Zosimus, and Rufus, but also in others among yourselves, and in Paul himself, and the rest of the apostles. [This do] in the assurance that all these have not run[7] in vain, but in faith and righteousness, and that they are [now] in their due place in the presence of the Lord, with whom also they suffered. For they loved not this present world, but Him who died for us, and for our sakes was raised again by God from the dead.

Chap. x.—*Exhortation to the practice of virtue.*[8]

Stand fast, therefore, in these things, and follow the example of the Lord, being firm and unchangeable in the faith, loving the brotherhood,[9] and being attached to one another, joined together in the truth, exhibiting the meekness of the Lord in your intercourse with one another, and despising no one. When you can do good, defer it not, because "alms delivers from death."[1] Be all of you subject one to another,[2] "having your conduct blameless among the Gentiles,"[3] that ye may both receive praise for your good works, and the Lord may not be blasphemed through you. But woe to him by whom the name of the Lord is blasphemed![4] Teach, therefore, sobriety to all, and manifest it also in your own conduct.

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[1] 1 Pet. ii. 24.

[2] 1 Pet. ii. 22.

[3] Comp. 1 John iv. 9.

[4] Comp. Acts v. 41; 1 Pet. iv. 16.

[5] Some read, "we glorify Him."

[6] Comp. 1 Pet. ii. 21.

[7] Comp. Phil. ii. 16; Gal. ii. 2.

[8] This and the two following chapters are preserved only in a Latin version.

[9] Comp. 1 Pet. ii. 17.

CHAP. XI.—*Expression of grief on account of Valens.*

I am greatly grieved for Valens, who was once a presbyter among you, because he so little understands the place that was given him [in the church]. I exhort you, therefore, that ye abstain from covetousness,[5] and that ye be chaste and truthful. "Abstain from every form of evil."[6] For if a man cannot govern himself in such matters, how shall he enjoin them on others? If a man does not keep himself from covetousness,[5] he shall be defiled by idolatry, and shall be judged as one of the heathen. But who of us are ignorant of the judgment of the Lord? "Do we not know that the saints shall judge the world?"[7] as Paul teaches. But I have neither seen nor heard of any such thing among you, in the midst of whom the blessed Paul laboured, and who are commended[8] in the beginning of his epistle. For he boasts of you in all those churches which alone then knew the Lord; but we [of Smyrna] had not yet known Him. I am deeply grieved, therefore, brethren, for him (Valens) and his wife; to whom may the Lord grant true repentance! And be ye then moderate in regard to this matter, and "do not count such as enemies,"[9] but call them back as suffering and straying members, that ye may save your whole body. For by so acting ye shall edify yourselves.[1]

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[1] Tobit iv. 10, xii. 9.

[2] Comp. 1 Pet. v. 5.

[3] 1 Pet. ii. 12.

[4] Isa. lii. 5.

[5] Some think that *incontinence* on the part of Valens and his wife is referred to.

[6] 1 Thess. v. 22.

[7] 1 Cor. vi. 2.

[8] Some read, "named;" comp. Phil. i. 5.

[9] 2 Thess. iii. 15.

CHAP. XII.—*Exhortation to various graces.*

For I trust that ye are well versed in the sacred Scriptures, and that nothing is hid from you; but to me this privilege is not yet granted.[2] It is declared then in these Scriptures, "Be ye angry, and sin not,"[3] and, "Let not the sun go down upon your wrath."[4] Happy is he who remembers[5] this, which I believe to be the case with you. But may the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and Jesus Christ Himself, who is the Son of God, and our everlasting High Priest, build you up in faith and truth, and in all meekness, gentleness, patience, long-suffering, forbearance, and purity; and may He bestow on you a lot and portion among His saints, and on us with you, and on all that are under heaven, who shall believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, and in His Father, who "raised Him from the dead."[6] Pray for all the saints. Pray also for kings,[7] and potentates, and princes, and for those that persecute and hate you,[8] and for the enemies of the cross, that your fruit may be manifest to all, and that ye may be perfect in Him.

CHAP. XIII.—*Concerning the transmission of epistles.*

Both you and Ignatius[9] wrote to me, that if any one went [from this] into Syria, he should carry your letter[10] with him; which request I will attend to if I find a fitting opportunity, either personally, or through some other acting for me, that your desire may be fulfilled. The epistles of Ignatius written by him[1] to us, and all the rest [of his epistles] which we have by us, we have sent to you, as you requested. They are subjoined to this epistle, and by them ye may be greatly profited; for they treat of faith and patience, and all things that tend to edification in our Lord. Any[2] more certain information you may have obtained respecting both Ignatius himself, and those that were[3] with him, have the goodness to make known[4] to us.

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[1] Comp. 1 Cor. xii. 26.

[2] This passage is very obscure. Some render it as follows: "But at present it is not granted unto me to practise that which is written, Be ye angry," etc.

[3] Ps. iv. 5.

[4] Eph. iv. 26.

[5] Some read, "believes."

[6] Gal. i. 1.

[7] Comp. 1 Tim. ii. 2.

[8] Matt. v. 44.

[9] Comp. Ep. of Ignatius to Polycarp, chap. viii.

[10] Or, "letters."

CHAP. XIV.—*Conclusion.*

These things I have written to you by Crescens, whom up to the present[5] time I have recommended unto you, and do now recommend. For he has acted blamelessly among us, and I believe also among you. Moreover, ye will hold his sister in esteem when she comes to you. Be ye safe in the Lord Jesus Christ. Grace be with you all.[6] Amen.

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[1] Reference is here made to the two letters of Ignatius, one to Polycarp himself, and the other to the church at Smyrna.

[2] Henceforth, to the end, we have only the Latin version.

[3] The Latin version reads "are," which has been corrected as above.

[4] Polycarp was aware of the death of Ignatius (chap. ix.), but was as yet apparently ignorant of the circumstances attending it.

[5] Some read, "in this present epistle."

[6] Others read, "and in favour with all yours."

THE MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

THE following letter purports to have been written by the church at Smyrna to the church at Philomelium, and through that church to the whole Christian world, in order to give a succinct account of the circumstances attending the martyrdom of Polycarp. It is the earliest of all the Martyria, and has generally been accounted both the most interesting and authentic. Not a few, however, deem it interpolated in several passages, and some refer it to a much later date than the middle of the second century, to which it has been commonly ascribed. We cannot tell how much it may owe to the writers (chap. xxii.) who successively transcribed it. Great part of it has been engrossed by Eusebius in his *Ecclesiastical History* (iv. 15); and it is instructive to observe, that some of the most startling miraculous phenomena recorded in the text as it now stands, have no place in the narrative as given by that early historian of the church. Much discussion has arisen respecting several particulars contained in this Martyrium; but into these disputes we do not enter, having it for our aim simply to present the reader with as faithful a translation as possible of this very interesting monument of Christian antiquity.

THE ENCYCLICAL EPISTLE OF THE CHURCH AT SMYRNA

CONCERNING THE MARTYRDOM OF THE HOLY POLYCARP.

THE church of God which sojourns at Smyrna, to the church of God sojourning in Philomelium,[1] and to all the congregations[2] of the holy and catholic church in every place: Mercy, peace, and love from God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, be multiplied.

Chap. i.—*Subject of which we write.*

We have written to you, brethren, as to what relates to the martyrs, and especially to the blessed Polycarp, who put an end to the persecution, having, as it were, set a seal upon it by his martyrdom. For almost all the events that happened previously [to this one], took place that the Lord might show us from above a martyrdom becoming the gospel. For he waited to be delivered up, even as the Lord had done, that we also might become his followers, while we look not merely at what concerns ourselves, but have regard also to our neighbours. For it is the part of a true and well-founded love, not only to wish one's self to be saved, but also all the brethren.

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[1] Some read, "Philadelphia," but on inferior authority. Philomelium was a city of Phrygia.

[2] The word in the original is *παροικίαις*, from which the English "parishes" is derived.

CHAP. II.—*The wonderful constancy of the martyrs.*

All the martyrdoms, then, were blessed and noble which took place according to the will of God. For it becomes us who profess[1] greater piety than others, to ascribe the authority over all things to God. And truly,[2] who can fail to admire their nobleness of mind, and their patience, with that love towards their Lord which they displayed?—who, when they were so torn with scourges, that the frame of their bodies, even to the very inward veins and arteries, was laid open, still patiently endured, while even those that stood by pitied and bewailed them. But they reached such a pitch of magnanimity, that not one of them let a sigh or a groan escape them; thus proving to us all that those holy martyrs of Christ, at the very time when they suffered such torments, were absent from the body, or rather, that the Lord then stood by them, and communed with them. And, looking to the grace of Christ, they despised all the torments of this world, redeeming themselves from eternal punishment by [the suffering of] a single hour. For this reason the fire of their savage executioners appeared cool to them. For they kept before their view escape from that fire which is eternal and never shall be quenched, and looked forward with the eyes of their heart to those good things which are laid up for such as endure; things "which ear hath not heard, nor eye seen, neither have entered into the heart of man,"[3] but were revealed by the Lord to them, inasmuch as they were no longer men, but had already become angels. And, in like manner, those who were condemned to the wild beasts endured dreadful tortures, being stretched out upon beds full of spikes, and subjected to various other kinds of torments, in order that, if it were possible, the tyrant might, by their lingering tortures, lead them to a denial [of Christ].

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[1] Literally, "who are more pious."

[2] The account now returns to the illustration of the statement made in the first sentence.

[3] 1 Cor. ii. 9.

CHAP. III.—*The constancy of Germanicus. The death of Polycarp is demanded.*

For the devil did indeed invent many things against them; but thanks be to God, he could not prevail over all. For the most noble Germanicus strengthened the timidity of others by his own patience, and fought heroically[1] with the wild beasts. For, when the proconsul sought to persuade him, and urged him[2] to take pity upon his age, he attracted the wild beast towards himself, and provoked it, being desirous to escape all the more quickly from an unrighteous and impious world. But upon this the whole multitude, marvelling at the nobility of mind displayed by the devout and godly race of Christians,[3] cried out, "Away with the atheists; let Polycarp be sought out!"

CHAP. IV.—*Quintus the apostate.*

Now one named Quintus, a Phrygian, who was but lately come from Phrygia, when he saw the wild beasts, became afraid. This was the man who forced himself and some others to come forward voluntarily [for trial]. Him the proconsul, after many entreaties, persuaded to swear and to offer sacrifice. Wherefore, brethren, we do not commend those who give themselves up [to suffering], seeing the gospel does not teach so to do.[4]

CHAP. V.—*The departure and vision of Polycarp.*

But the most admirable Polycarp, when he first heard [that he was sought for], was in no measure disturbed, but resolved to continue in the city. However, in deference to the wish of many, he was persuaded to leave it. He departed, therefore, to a country house not far distant from the city.

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[1] Or, "illustriously."

[2] Or, "said to him."

[3] Literally, "the nobleness of the God-loving and God-fearing race of Christians."

[4] Comp. Matt. x. 23.

There he stayed with a few [friends], engaged in nothing else night and day than praying for all men, and for the churches throughout the world, according to his usual custom. And while he was praying, a vision presented itself to him three days before he was taken; and, behold, the pillow under his head seemed to him on fire. Upon this, turning to those that were with him, he said to them prophetically, "I must be burnt alive."

Chap. vi.—*Polycarp is betrayed by a servant.*

And when those who sought for him were at hand, he departed to another dwelling, whither his pursuers immediately came after him. And when they found him not, they seized upon two youths [that were there], one of whom, being subjected to torture, confessed. It was thus impossible that he should continue hid, since those that betrayed him were of his own household. The Irenarch[1] then (whose office is the same as that of the Cleronomus[2]), by name Herod, hastened to bring him into the stadium. [This all happened] that he might fulfil his special lot, being made a partaker of Christ, and that they who betrayed him might undergo the punishment of Judas himself.

Chap. vii.—*Polycarp is found by his pursuers.*

His pursuers then, along with horsemen, and taking the youth with them, went forth at supper-time on the day of the preparation,[3] with their usual weapons, as if going out against a robber.[4] And being come about evening [to the place where he was], they found him lying down in the upper room of[5] a certain little house, from which he might have escaped into another place; but he refused, saying, "The will of God[1] be done."[2] So when he heard that they were come, he went down and spake with them. And as those that were present marvelled at his age and constancy, some of them said, "Was so much effort[3] made to capture such a venerable man?"[4] Immediately then, in that very hour, he ordered that something to eat and drink should be set before them, as much indeed as they cared for, while he besought them to allow him an hour to pray without disturbance. And on their giving him leave, he stood and prayed, being full of the grace of God, so that he could not cease[5] for two full hours, to the astonishment of them that heard him, insomuch that many began to repent that they had come forth against so godly and venerable an old man.

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[1] It was the duty of the Irenarch to apprehend all seditious troublers of the public peace.

[2] Some think that those magistrates bore this name that were elected by lot.

[3] That is, on Friday.

[4] Comp. Matt. xxvi. 55.

[5] Or, "in."

CHAP. VIII.—*Polycarp is brought into the city.*

Now, as soon as he had ceased praying, having made mention of all that had at any time come in contact with him, both small and great, illustrious and obscure, as well as the whole catholic church throughout the world, the time of his departure having arrived, they set him upon an ass, and conducted him into the city, the day being that of the great Sabbath. And the Irenarch Herod, accompanied by his father Nicetes (both riding in a chariot[6]), met him, and taking him up into the chariot, they seated themselves beside him, and endeavoured to persuade him, saying, "What harm is there in saying, Lord Cæsar,[7] and in sacrificing, with the other ceremonies observed on such occasions, and so make sure of safety?" But he at first gave them no answer; and when they continued to urge him, he said, "I shall not do as you advise me." So they, having no hope of persuading him, began to speak bitter[1] words unto him, and cast him with violence out of the chariot,[2] insomuch that, in getting down from the carriage, he dislocated his leg[3] [by the fall]. But without being disturbed,[4] and as if suffering nothing, he went eagerly forward with all haste, and was conducted to the stadium, where the tumult was so great, that there was no possibility of being heard.

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[1] Some read, "the Lord."

[2] Comp. Matt. vi. 10; Acts xxi. 14.

[3] Or, "diligence."

[4] Jacobson reads, "and [marvelling] that they had used so great diligence to capture," etc.

[5] Or, "be silent."

[6] Jacobson deems these words an interpolation.

[7] Or, "Cæsar is Lord," all the MSS. having κύριος instead of κύριε, as usually printed.

Chap. ix.—*Polycarp refuses to revile Christ.*

Now, as Polycarp was entering into the stadium, there came to him a voice from heaven, saying, "Be strong, and show thyself a man, O Polycarp!" No one saw who it was that spoke to him; but those of our brethren who were present heard the voice. And as he was brought forward, the tumult became great when they heard that Polycarp was taken. And when he came near, the proconsul asked him whether he was Polycarp. On his confessing that he was, [the proconsul] sought to persuade him to deny [Christ], saying, "Have respect to thy old age," and other similar things, according to their custom, [such as], "Swear by the fortune of Cæsar; repent, and say, Away with the Atheists." But Polycarp, gazing with a stern countenance on all the multitude of the wicked heathen then in the stadium, and waving his hand towards them, while with groans he looked up to heaven, said, "Away with the Atheists."[5] Then, the proconsul urging him, and saying, "Swear, and I will set thee at liberty, reproach Christ;" Polycarp declared, "Eighty and six years have I served Him, and He never did me any injury: how then can I blaspheme my King and my Saviour?"

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[1] Or, "terrible."

[2] Or, "cast him down" simply, the following words being, as above, an interpolation.

[3] Or, "sprained his ankle."

[4] Or, "not turning back."

[5] Referring the words to the heathen, and not to the Christians, as was desired.

CHAP. X.—*Polycarp confesses himself a Christian.*

And when the proconsul yet again pressed him, and said, "Swear by the fortune of Cæsar," he answered, "Since thou art vainly urgent that, as thou sayest, I should swear by the fortune of Cæsar, and pretendest not to know who and what I am, hear me declare with boldness, I am a Christian. And if you wish to learn what the doctrines[1] of Christianity are, appoint me a day, and thou shalt hear them." The proconsul replied, "Persuade the people." But Polycarp said, "To thee I have thought it right to offer an account [of my faith]; for we are taught to give all due honour (which entails no injury upon ourselves) to the powers and authorities which are ordained of God.[2] But as for *these*, I do not deem them worthy of receiving any account from me."[3]

CHAP. XI.—*No threats have any effect on Polycarp.*

The proconsul then said to him, "I have wild beasts at hand; to these will I cast thee, except thou repent." But he answered, "Call them then, for we are not accustomed to repent of what is good in order to adopt that which is evil;[4] and it is well for me to be changed from what is evil to what is righteous."[5] But again the proconsul said to him, "I will cause thee to be consumed by fire, seeing thou despisest the wild beasts, if thou wilt not repent." But Polycarp said, "Thou threatenest me with fire which burneth for an hour, and after a little is extinguished, but art ignorant of the fire of the coming judgment and of eternal punishment, reserved for the ungodly. But why tarriest thou? Bring forth what thou wilt."

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[1] Or, "an account of Christianity."

[2] Comp. Rom. xiii. 1–7; Tit. iii. 1.

[3] Or, "of my making any defence to them."

[4] Literally, "repentance from things better to things worse is a change impossible to us."

[5] That is, to leave this world for a better.

CHAP. XII.—*Polycarp is sentenced to be burned.*

While he spoke these and many other like things, he was filled with confidence and joy, and his countenance was full of grace, so that not merely did it not fall as if troubled by the things said to him, but, on the contrary, the proconsul was astonished, and sent his herald to proclaim in the midst of the stadium thrice, "Polycarp has confessed that he is a Christian." This proclamation having been made by the herald, the whole multitude both of the heathen and Jews, who dwelt at Smyrna, cried out with uncontrollable fury, and in a loud voice, "This is the teacher of Asia,[1] the father of the Christians, and the overthrower of our gods, he who has been teaching many not to sacrifice, or to worship the gods." Speaking thus, they cried out, and besought Philip the Asiarch[2] to let loose a lion upon Polycarp. But Philip answered that it was not lawful for him to do so, seeing the shows[3] of wild beasts were already finished. Then it seemed good to them to cry out with one consent, that Polycarp should be burnt alive. For thus it behoved the vision which was revealed to him in regard to his pillow to be fulfilled, when, seeing it on fire as he was praying, he turned about and said prophetically to the faithful that were with him, "I must be burnt alive."

CHAP. XIII.—*The funeral pile is erected.*

This, then, was carried into effect with greater speed than it was spoken, the multitudes immediately gathering together wood and fagots out of the shops and baths; the Jews especially, according to custom, eagerly assisting them in it. And when the funeral pile was ready, Polycarp, laying aside all his garments, and loosing his girdle, sought also to take off his sandals,—a thing he was not accustomed to do, inasmuch as every one of the faithful was always eager who should first touch his skin. For, on account of his holy life,[1] he was, even before his martyrdom, adorned[2] with every kind of good. Immediately then they surrounded him with those substances which had been prepared for the funeral pile. But when they were about also to fix him with nails, he said, "Leave me as I am; for he that giveth me strength to endure the fire, will also enable me, without your securing me by nails, to remain without moving in the pile."

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[1] Some read, "ungodliness," but the above seems preferable.

[2] The Asiarchs were those who superintended all arrangements connected with the games in the several provinces.

[3] Literally, "the baiting of dogs."

CHAP. XIV.—*The prayer of Polycarp.*

They did not nail him then, but simply bound him. And he, placing his hands behind him, and being bound like a distinguished ram [taken] out of a great flock for sacrifice, and prepared to be an acceptable burnt-offering unto God, looked up to heaven, and said, "O Lord God Almighty, the Father of Thy beloved and blessed Son Jesus Christ, by whom we have received the knowledge of Thee, the God of angels and powers, and of every creature, and of the whole race of the righteous who live before thee, I give Thee thanks that Thou hast counted me worthy of this day and this hour, that I should have a part in the number of Thy martyrs, in the cup[3] of thy Christ, to the resurrection of eternal life, both of soul and body, through the incorruption [imparted] by the Holy Ghost. Among whom may I be accepted this day before Thee as a fat[4] and acceptable sacrifice, according as Thou, the ever-truthful[5] God, hast fore-ordained, hast revealed beforehand to me, and now hast fulfilled. Wherefore also I praise Thee for all things, I bless Thee, I glorify Thee, along with the everlasting and heavenly Jesus Christ, Thy beloved Son, with whom, to Thee, and the Holy Ghost, be glory both now and to all coming ages. Amen."[6]

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[1] Literally, "good behaviour."

[2] Some think this implies that Polycarp's skin was believed to possess a miraculous efficacy.

[3] Comp. Matt. xx. 22, xxvi. 39; Mark x. 38.

[4] Literally, "in a fat," etc. [5] Literally, "the not false and true God."

[6] Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* iv. 15) has preserved a great portion of this

CHAP. XV.—*Polycarp is not injured by the fire.*

When he had pronounced this *amen*, and so finished his prayer, those who were appointed for the purpose kindled the fire. And as the flame blazed forth in great fury,[1] we, to whom it was given to witness it, beheld a great miracle, and have been preserved that we might report to others what then took place. For the fire, shaping itself into the form of an arch, like the sail of a ship when filled with the wind, encompassed as by a circle the body of the martyr. And he appeared within not like flesh which is burnt, but as bread that is baked, or as gold and silver glowing in a furnace. Moreover, we perceived such a sweet odour [coming from the pile], as if frankincense or some such precious spices had been smoking[2] there.

CHAP. XVI.—*Polycarp is pierced by a dagger.*

At length, when those wicked men perceived that his body could not be consumed by the fire, they commanded an executioner to go near and pierce him through with a dagger. And on his doing this, there came forth a dove,[3] and a great quantity of blood, so that the fire was extinguished; and all the people wondered that there should be such a difference between the unbelievers and the elect, of whom this most admirable Polycarp was one, having in our own times been an apostolic and prophetic teacher, and bishop of the catholic church which is in Smyrna. For every word that went out of his mouth either has been or shall yet be accomplished.

Martyrium, but in a text considerably differing from that we have followed. Here, instead of "and," he has "in the Holy Ghost."

[1] Literally, "a great flame shining forth."

[2] Literally, "breathing."

[3] Eusebius omits all mention of the *dove*, and many have thought the text to be here corrupt. It has been proposed to read ἐπ' ἀριστερᾷ, "on the left hand side," instead of περιστερὰ, "a dove."

Chap. XVII.—*The Christians are refused Polycarp's body.*

But when the adversary of the race of the righteous, the envious, malicious, and wicked one, perceived the impressive[1] nature of his martyrdom, and [considered] the blameless life he had led from the beginning, and how he was now crowned with the wreath of immortality, having beyond dispute received his reward, he did his utmost that not the least memorial of him should be taken away by us, although many desired to do this, and to become possessors[2] of his holy flesh. For this end he suggested it to Nicetes, the father of Herod and brother of Alce, to go and entreat the governor not to give up his body to be buried, "lest," said he, "forsaking Him that was crucified, they begin to worship this one." This he said at the suggestion and urgent persuasion of the Jews, who also watched us, as we sought to take him out of the fire, being ignorant of this, that it is neither possible for us ever to forsake Christ, who suffered for the salvation of such as shall be saved throughout the whole world (the blameless one for sinners[3]), nor to worship any other. For Him indeed, as being the Son of God, we adore; but the martyrs, as disciples and followers of the Lord, we worthily love on account of their extraordinary[4] affection towards their own King and Master, of whom may we also be made companions[5] and fellow-disciples!

Chap. XVIII.—*The body of Polycarp is burned.*

The centurion then, seeing the strife excited by the Jews, placed the body[6] in the midst of the fire, and consumed it. Accordingly, we afterwards took up his bones, as being more precious than the most exquisite jewels, and more purified[1] than gold, and deposited them in a fitting place, whither, being gathered together, as opportunity is allowed us, with joy and rejoicing, the Lord shall grant us to celebrate the anniversary[2] of his martyrdom, both in memory of those who have already finished their course,[3] and for the exercising and preparation of those yet to walk in their steps.

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[1] Literally, "greatness."

[2] The Greek, literally translated, is, "and to have fellowship with his holy flesh."

[3] This clause is omitted by Eusebius: it was probably interpolated by some transcriber, who had in his mind 1 Pet. iii. 18.

[4] Literally, "unsurpassable."

[5] Literally, "fellow-partakers."

[6] Or, "him."

CHAP. XIX.—*Praise of the martyr Polycarp.*

This, then, is the account of the blessed Polycarp, who, being the twelfth that was martyred in Smyrna (reckoning those also of Philadelphia), yet occupies a place of his own[4] in the memory of all men, insomuch that he is everywhere spoken of by the heathen themselves. He was not merely an illustrious teacher, but also a pre-eminent martyr, whose martyrdom all desire to imitate, as having been altogether consistent with the gospel of Christ. For, having through patience overcome the unjust governor, and thus acquired the crown of immortality, he now, with the apostles and all the righteous [in heaven], rejoicingly glorifies God, even the Father, and blesses our Lord Jesus Christ, the Saviour of our souls, the Governor of our bodies, and the Shepherd of the catholic church throughout the world.[5]

CHAP. XX.—*This epistle is to be transmitted to the brethren.*

Since, then, ye requested that we would at large make you acquainted with what really took place, we have for the present sent you this summary account through our brother Marcus. When, therefore, ye have yourselves read this epistle,[6] be pleased to send it to the brethren at a greater distance, that they also may glorify the Lord, who makes such choice of His own servants. To Him who is able to bring us all by His grace and goodness[1] into His everlasting kingdom, through His only-begotten Son Jesus Christ, to Him be glory, and honour, and power, and majesty, for ever. Amen. Salute all the saints. They that are with us salute you, and Evarestus, who wrote this epistle, with all his house.

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[1] Or, "more tried."

[2] Literally, "the birth-day."

[3] Literally, "been athletes."

[4] Literally, "is alone remembered."

[5] Several additions are here made. One MS. has, "and the all-holy and life-giving Spirit;" while the old Latin version reads, "and the Holy Spirit, by whom we know all things."

[6] Literally, "having learned these things."

CHAP. XXI.—*The date of the martyrdom.*

Now, the blessed Polycarp suffered martyrdom on the second day of the month Xanthicus just begun,[2] the seventh day before the Calends of May, on the great Sabbath, at the eighth hour.[3] He was taken by Herod, Philip the Trallian being high priest,[4] Statius Quadratus being proconsul, but Jesus Christ being King for ever, to whom be glory, honour, majesty, and an everlasting throne, from generation to generation. Amen.

CHAP. XXII.—*Salutation.*

We wish you, brethren, all happiness, while you walk according to the doctrine of the gospel of Jesus Christ; with whom be glory to God the Father and the Holy Spirit, for the salvation of His holy elect, after whose example[5] the blessed Polycarp suffered, following in whose steps may we too be found in the kingdom of Jesus Christ!

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[1] Literally, "gift."

[2] The translation is here very doubtful. Wake renders the words *μηνὸς ἱσταμένου*, "of the *present* month."

[3] Great obscurity hangs over the chronology here indicated. According to Usher, the Smyrnæans began the month Xanthicus on the 25th of March. But the seventh day before the Calends of May is the 25th of April. Some, therefore, read 'Απριλλίων instead of Μαΐων. The great Sabbath is that before the passover. The "eighth hour" may correspond either to our 8 A.M. or 2 P.M.

[4] Called before (chap. xii.) *Asiarch.*

[5] Literally, "according as."

These things[1] Caius transcribed from the copy of Irenæus (who was a disciple of Polycarp), having himself been intimate with Irenæus. And I Socrates transcribed them at Corinth from the copy of Caius. Grace be with you all.

And I again, Pionius, wrote them from the previously written copy, having carefully searched into them, and the blessed Polycarp having manifested them to me through a revelation, even as I shall show in what follows. I have collected these things, when they had almost faded away through the lapse of time, that the Lord Jesus Christ may also gather me along with His elect into His heavenly kingdom, to whom, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

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[1] What follows is, of course, no part of the original epistle.

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

NOTHING certain is known as to the author of the following epistle. The writer's name is Barnabas, but scarcely any scholars now ascribe it to the illustrious friend and companion of St Paul. External and internal evidence here come into direct collision. The ancient writers who refer to this epistle unanimously attribute it to Barnabas the Levite, of Cyprus, who held such an honourable place in the infant church. Clement of Alexandria does so again and again (*Strom.* ii. 6, ii. 7, etc.). Origen describes it as "a catholic epistle" (*Cont. Cels.* i. 63), and seems to rank it among the sacred Scriptures (*Comm. in Rom.* i. 24). Other statements have been quoted from the fathers, to show that they held this to be an authentic production of the apostolic Barnabas; and certainly no other name is ever hinted at in Christian antiquity as that of the writer. But notwithstanding this, the internal evidence is now generally regarded as conclusive against this opinion. On perusing the epistle, the reader will be in circumstances to judge of this matter for himself. He will be led to consider whether the spirit and tone of the writing, as so decidedly opposed to all respect for Judaism—the numerous inaccuracies which it contains with respect to Mosaic enactments and observances—the absurd and trifling interpretations of Scripture which it suggests—and the many silly vaunts of superior knowledge in which its writer indulges—can possibly comport with its ascription to the fellow-labourer of St Paul. When it is remembered that no one ascribes the epistle to the apostolic Barnabas till the times of Clement of

Alexandria, and that it is ranked by Eusebius among the "spurious" writings, which, however much known and read in the church, were never regarded as authoritative, little doubt can remain that the external evidence is of itself weak, and should not make us hesitate for a moment in refusing to ascribe this writing to Barnabas the apostle.

The date, object, and intended readers of the epistle can only be doubtfully inferred from some statements which it contains. It was clearly written after the destruction of Jerusalem, since reference is made to that event (chap. xvi.), but how long after is matter of much dispute. The general opinion is, that its date is not later than the middle of the second century, and that it cannot be placed earlier than some twenty or thirty years before. In point of style, both as respects thought and expression, a very low place must be assigned it. We know nothing certain of the region in which the author lived, or where the first readers were to be found. The intention of the writer, as he himself states (chap. i.), was "to perfect the knowledge" of those to whom he wrote. Hilgenfeld, who has devoted much attention to this epistle, holds that "it was written at the close of the first century by a Gentile Christian of the school of Alexandria, with the view of winning back, or guarding from a Judaic form of Christianity, those Christians belonging to the same class as himself."

Until the recent discovery of the Codex Sinaiticus by Tischendorf, the first four and a half chapters were known only in an ancient Latin version. The whole Greek text is now happily recovered, though it is in many places very corrupt. We have compared its readings throughout, and noted the principal variations from the text represented in our version. We have also made frequent reference to the text adopted by Hilgenfeld in his recent edition of the epistle (Lipsiæ, T. O. Weigel, 1866).

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS.[1]

CHAP. I.—*After the salutation, the writer declares that he would communicate to his brethren something of that which he had himself received.*

ALL hail, ye sons and daughters, in the name of our Lord[2] Jesus Christ, who loved us in peace.

Seeing that the divine fruits[3] of righteousness abound among you, I rejoice exceedingly and above measure in your happy and honoured spirits, because ye have with such effect received the engrafted[4] spiritual gift. Wherefore also I inwardly rejoice the more, hoping to be saved, because I truly perceive in you the Spirit poured forth from the rich Lord[5] of love. Your greatly desired appearance has thus filled me with astonishment over you.[6] I am therefore persuaded of this, and fully convinced in my own mind, that since I began to speak among you I understand many things, because the Lord hath accompanied me in the way of righteousness. I am also on this account bound[1] by the strictest obligation to love you above my own soul, because great are the faith and love dwelling in you, while you hope for the life which He has promised.[2] Considering this, therefore, that if I should take the trouble to communicate to you some portion of what I have myself received, it will prove to me a sufficient reward that I minister to such spirits, I have hastened briefly to write unto you, in order that, along with your faith, ye might have perfect knowledge. The doctrines of the Lord, then, are three:[3] the hope of life, the beginning and the completion of it. For the Lord hath made known to us by the prophets both the things which are past and present, giving us also the first-fruits of the knowledge[4] of things to come, which things as we see accomplished, one by one, we ought with the greater richness of faith[5] and elevation of spirit to draw near to Him with reverence.[6] I then, not as your teacher, but as one of yourselves, will set forth a few things by which in present circumstances ye may be rendered the more joyful.

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[1] The Codex Sinaiticus has simply "Epistle of Barnabas" for title; Dressel gives, "Epistle of Barnabas the Apostle," from the Vatican MS. of the Latin text.

[2] The Cod. Sin. has simply, "the Lord."

[3] Literally, "the judgments of God being great and rich towards you;" but, as Hefele remarks, δικαίωμα seems here to have the meaning of *righteousness*, as in Rom. v. 18.

[4] This appears to be the meaning of the Greek, and is confirmed by the ancient Latin version. Hilgenfeld, however, following Cod. Sin., reads "thus," instead of "because," and separates the clauses.

[5] The Latin reads, "a spirit infused into you from the honourable fountain of God."

[6] This sentence is entirely omitted in the Latin.

CHAP. II.—*The Jewish sacrifices are now abolished.*

Since, therefore, the days are evil, and Satan[7] possesses the power of this world, we ought to give heed to ourselves, and diligently inquire into the ordinances of the Lord. Fear and patience, then, are helpers of our faith; and long-suffering and continence are things which fight on our side. While these remain pure in what respects the Lord, Wisdom, Understanding, Science, and Knowledge rejoice along with them.[1] For He hath revealed to us by all the prophets that He needs neither sacrifices, nor burnt-offerings, nor oblations, saying thus, "What is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me, saith the Lord? I am full of burnt-offerings, and desire not the fat of lambs, and the blood of bulls and goats, not when ye come to appear before me: for who hath required these things at your hands? Tread no more my courts, not though ye bring with you fine flour. Incense is a vain abomination unto me, and your new moons and sabbaths I cannot endure."[2] He has therefore abolished these things, that the new law of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is without the yoke of necessity, might have a human oblation.[3] And again He says to them, "Did I command your fathers, when they went out from the land of Egypt, to offer unto me burnt-offerings and sacrifices? But this rather I commanded them, Let no one of you cherish any evil in his heart against his neighbour, and love not an oath of falsehood."[4] We ought therefore, being possessed of understanding, to perceive the gracious intention of our Father; for He speaks to us, desirous that we, not[5] going astray like them, should ask how we may approach Him. To us, then, He declares, "A sacrifice [pleasing] to God is a broken spirit; a smell of

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[1] The Latin text is here quite different, and seems evidently corrupt. We have followed the Cod. Sin., as does Hilgenfeld.

[2] Literally, "in the hope of His life."

[3] The Greek is here totally unintelligible: it seems impossible either to punctuate or construe it. We may attempt to represent it as follows: "The doctrines of the Lord, then, are three: Life, Faith, and Hope, our beginning and end; and Righteousness, the beginning and the end of judgment; Love and Joy and the Testimony of gladness for works of righteousness." We have followed the ancient Latin text, which Hilgenfeld also adopts, though Weitzäcker and others prefer the Greek.

[4] Instead of "knowledge" (*γνώσεως*), Cod. Sin. has "taste" (*γεύσεως*).

[5] Literally, "we ought more richly and loftily to approach His fear."

[6] Instead of "to Him with fear," the reading of Cod. Sin., the Latin has, "to His altar," which Hilgenfeld adopts.

[7] The Latin text is literally, "the adversary;" the Greek has, "and

New law

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he that worketh possesseth power;" Hilgenfeld reads, "he that worketh against," the idea expressed above being intended.

[1] Or, "while these things continue, those which respect the Lord rejoice in purity along with them—Wisdom," etc.

[2] Isa. i. 11–14, from the Sept., as is the case throughout. We have given the quotation as it stands in Cod. Sin.

[3] Thus in the Latin. The Greek reads, "might not have a man-made oblation." The Latin text seems preferable, implying that, instead of the outward sacrifices of the law, there is now required a dedication of *man himself*. Hilgenfeld follows the Greek.

[4] Jer. vii. 22; Zech. viii. 17.

[5] So the Greek. Hilgenfeld, with the Latin, omits "not."

sweet savour to the Lord is a heart that glorifieth Him that made it."[1] We ought therefore, brethren, carefully to inquire concerning our salvation, lest the wicked one, having made his entrance by deceit, should hurl[2] us forth from our [true] life.

CHAP. III.—*The fasts of the Jews are not true fasts, nor acceptable to God.*

He says then to them again concerning these things, "Why do ye fast to me as on this day, saith the Lord, that your voice should be heard with a cry? I have not chosen this fast, saith the Lord, that a man should humble his soul. Nor, though ye bend your neck like a ring, and put upon you sackcloth and ashes, will ye call it an acceptable fast."[3] To us He saith, "Behold, this is the fast that I have chosen, saith the Lord, not that a man should humble his soul, but that he should loose every band of iniquity, untie the fastenings of harsh agreements, restore to liberty them that are bruised, tear in pieces every unjust engagement, feed the hungry with thy bread, clothe the naked when thou seest him, bring the homeless into thy house, not despise the humble if thou behold him, and not [turn away] from the members of thine own family. Then shall thy dawn break forth, and thy healing shall quickly spring up, and righteousness shall go forth before thee, and the glory of God shall encompass thee; and then thou shalt call, and God shall hear thee; whilst thou art yet speaking, He shall say, Behold, I am with thee; if thou take away from thee the chain [binding others], and the stretching forth of the hands[4] [to swear falsely], and words of murmuring, and give cheerfully thy bread to the hungry, and show compassion to the soul that has been humbled."[1] To this end, therefore, brethren, He is long-suffering, foreseeing how the people whom He has prepared shall with guilelessness believe in His Beloved. For He revealed all these things to us beforehand, that we should not rush forward as rash acceptors of their laws.[2]

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[1] Ps. li. 19. There is nothing in Scripture corresponding to the last clause.

[2] Literally, "sling us out."

[3] Isa. lviii. 4, 5.

[4] The original here is χειροτονίαν, from the LXX. Hefele remarks, that it may refer to the stretching forth of the hands, either to swear falsely, or to mock and insult one's neighbour.

CHAP. IV.—*Antichrist is at hand: let us therefore avoid Jewish errors.*

It therefore behoves us, who inquire much concerning events at hand,[3] to search diligently into those things which are able to save us. Let us then utterly flee from all the works of iniquity, lest these should take hold of us; and let us hate the error of the present time, that we may set our love on the world to come: let us not give loose reins to our soul, that it should have power to run with sinners and the wicked, lest we become like them. The final stumbling-block (or source of danger) approaches, concerning which it is written, as Enoch[4] says, "For for this end the Lord has cut short the times and the days, that His Beloved may hasten; and He will come to the inheritance." And the prophet also speaks thus: "Ten kingdoms shall reign upon the earth, and a little king shall rise up after them, who shall subdue under one three of the kings."[5] In like manner Daniel says concerning the same, "And I beheld the fourth beast, wicked and powerful, and more savage than all the beasts of the earth, and how from it sprang up ten horns, and out of them a little budding horn, and how it subdued under one three of the great horns."[6] Ye ought therefore to understand. And this also I further beg of you, as being one of you, and loving you both individually and collectively more than my own soul, to take heed now to yourselves, and not to be like some, adding largely to your sins, and saying, "The covenant is both theirs and ours."[1] But they thus finally lost it, after Moses had already received it. For the Scripture saith, "And Moses was fasting in the mount forty days and forty nights, and received the covenant from the Lord, tables of stone written with the finger of the hand of the Lord;"[2] but turning away to idols, they lost it. For the Lord speaks thus to Moses: "Moses, go down quickly; for the people whom thou hast brought out of the land of Egypt have transgressed."[3] And Moses understood [the meaning of God], and cast the two tables out of his hands; and their covenant was broken, in order that the covenant of the beloved Jesus might be sealed upon our heart, in the hope which flows from believing in Him.[4] Now, being desirous to write many things to you, not as your teacher, but as becometh one who loves you, I have taken care not to fail to write to you from what I myself possess, with a view to your purification.[5] We take earnest[6] heed in these last days; for the whole [past] time of your faith will profit you nothing, unless now in this wicked time we also withstand coming sources of danger, as becometh the sons of God. That the Black One[7] may find no means of entrance, let us flee from every vanity, let us utterly hate the works of the way of wickedness. Do not, by retiring apart, live a solitary life, as if you were already [fully] justified; but coming together in one place, make common inquiry concerning what tends to your general welfare. For the Scripture saith, "Woe to them who are wise to themselves, and prudent in their own sight!"[1] Let us be spiritually-minded: let us be a perfect temple to God. As much as in us lies, let us meditate upon the fear of God, and let us keep His commandments, that we may rejoice in His ordinances. The Lord will judge the world without respect of persons. Each will receive as he has done: if he is righteous, his righteousness will precede him; if he is wicked, the reward of wickedness is before him. Take heed, lest resting at our ease, as those who are the called [of God], we should fall asleep in our sins, and the wicked prince, acquiring power over us, should thrust us away from the kingdom of the Lord. And all the more attend to this, my brethren, when ye reflect and behold, that after so great signs and wonders were wrought in Israel, they were thus [at length] abandoned. Let us beware lest we be found [fulfilling that saying], as it is written, "Many are called, but few are chosen."[2]

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[1] Isa. lviii. 6–10.

[2] The Greek is here unintelligible: the Latin has, "that we should not rush on, as if proselytes to their law."

[3] Or it might be rendered, "things present." Cotelerius reads, "de his instantibus."

[4] The Latin reads "Daniel" instead of "Enoch;" comp. Dan. ix. 24–27.

[5] Dan. vii. 24, very loosely quoted.

[6] Dan. vii. 7, 8, also very inaccurately cited.

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[1] We here follow the Latin text in preference to the Greek, which reads merely, "the covenant is ours." What follows seems to show the correctness of the Latin, as the author proceeds to deny that the Jews had any further interest in the promises.

[2] Ex. xxxi. 18, xxxiv. 28.

[3] Ex. xxxii. 7; Deut. ix. 12.

[4] Literally, "in hope of His faith."

[5] The Greek is here incorrect and unintelligible; and as the Latin omits the clause, our translation is merely conjectural. Hilgenfeld's text, if we give a somewhat peculiar meaning to ἐλλιπεῖν, may be translated: "but as it is becoming in one who loves you not to fail in giving you what we have, I, though the very offscouring of you, have been eager to write to you."

[6] So the Cod. Sin. Hilgenfeld reads, with the Latin, "let us take."

[7] The Latin here departs entirely from the Greek text, and quotes as a saying of "the Son of God" the following precept, nowhere to be found

CHAP. V.—*The new covenant, founded on the sufferings of Christ, tends to our salvation, but to the Jews' destruction.*

For to this end the Lord endured to deliver up His flesh to corruption, that we might be sanctified through the remission of sins, which is effected by His blood of sprinkling. For it is written concerning Him, partly with reference to Israel, and partly to us; and [the Scripture] saith thus:

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in the New Testament: "Let us resist all iniquity, and hold it in hatred.' Hilgenfeld joins this clause to the former sentence.

[1] Isa. v. 21.

[2] An exact quotation from Matt. xx. 16 or xxii. 14. It is worthy of notice that this is the first example in the writings of the Fathers of a citation from any book of the New Testament, preceded by the authoritative formula, "it is written."

"He was wounded for our transgressions, and bruised for our iniquities: with His stripes we are healed. He was brought as a sheep to the slaughter, and as a lamb which is dumb before its shearer."[1] Therefore we ought to be deeply grateful to the Lord, because He has both made known to us things that are past, and hath given us wisdom concerning things present, and hath not left us without understanding in regard to things which are to come. Now, the Scripture saith, "Not unjustly are nets spread out for birds."[2] This means that the man perishes justly, who, having a knowledge of the way of righteousness, rushes off into the way of darkness. And further, my brethren: if the Lord endured to suffer for our soul, He being Lord of all the world, to whom God said at the foundation of the world, "Let us make man after our image, and after our likeness,"[3] understand how it was that He endured to suffer at the hand of men. The prophets, having obtained grace from Him, prophesied concerning Him. And He (since it behoved Him to appear in flesh), that He might abolish death, and reveal the resurrection from the dead, endured [what and as He did], in order that He might fulfil the promise made unto the fathers, and by preparing a new people for Himself, might show, while He dwelt on earth, that He, when He has raised mankind, will also judge them. Moreover, teaching Israel, and doing so great miracles and signs, He preached [the truth] to him, and greatly loved him. But when He chose His own apostles who were to preach His gospel, [He did so from among those] who were sinners above all sin, that He might show He came "not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance."[4] Then He manifested Himself to be the Son of God. For if He had not come in the flesh, how could men have been saved by beholding Him?[5] Since looking upon the sun which is to cease to exist, and is the work of His hands, their eyes are not able to bear his rays. The Son of God therefore came in the flesh with this view, that He might bring to a head the sum of their sins who had persecuted His prophets[1] to the death. For this purpose, then, He endured. For God saith, "The stroke of his flesh is from them;"[2] and[3] "when I shall smite the Shepherd, then the sheep of the flock shall be scattered."[4] He himself willed thus to suffer, for it was necessary that He should suffer on the tree. For says he who prophesies regarding Him, "Spare my soul from the sword,[5] fasten my flesh with nails; for the assemblies of the wicked have risen up against me."[6] And again he says, "Behold, I have given my back to scourges, and my cheeks to strokes, and I have set my countenance as a firm rock."[7]

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[1] Isa. liii. 5, 7.

[2] Prov. i. 17, from the LXX., which has mistaken the meaning.

[3] Gen. i. 26.

[4] Matt. ix. 13; Mark ii. 17; Luke v. 32.

[5] The Cod. Sin. reads, "neither would men have been saved by seeing Him."

CHAP. VI.—*The sufferings of Christ, and the new covenant, were announced by the prophets.*

When, therefore, He has fulfilled the commandment, what saith He? "Who is he that will contend with me? let him oppose me: or who is he that will enter into judgment with me? let him draw near to the servant of the Lord."[8] "Woe unto you, for ye shall all wax old, like a garment, and the moth shall eat you up."[9] And again the prophet says, "Since[10] as a mighty stone He is laid for crushing, behold I cast down for the foundations of Zion a stone, precious, elect, a corner-stone, honourable." Next, what says He? "And he who shall trust[11] in it shall live for ever." Is our hope, then, upon a stone? Far from it. But [the language is used] inasmuch as He laid his flesh [as a foundation] with power; for He says, "And He placed me as a firm rock."[1] And the prophet says again, "The stone which the builders rejected, the same has become the head of the corner."[2] And again he says, "This is the great and wonderful day which the Lord hath made."[3] I write the more simply unto you, that ye may understand. I am the offscouring of your love.[4] What, then, again says the prophet? "The assembly of the wicked surrounded me; they encompassed me as bees do a honeycomb,"[5] and "upon my garment they cast lots."[6] Since, therefore, He was about to be manifested and to suffer in the flesh, His suffering was foreshown. For the prophet speaks against Israel, "Woe to their soul, because they have counselled an evil counsel against themselves,[7] saying, Let us bind the just one, because he is displeasing to us."[8] And Moses also says to them,[9] "Behold these things, saith the Lord God: Enter into the good land which the Lord sware [to give] to Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and inherit ye it, a land flowing with milk and honey."[10] What, then, says Knowledge?[11] Learn: "Trust," she says, "in Him who is to be manifested to you in the flesh—that is, Jesus." For man is earth in a suffering state, for the formation of Adam was from the face of the earth. What, then, meaneth this: "into the good land, a land flowing with milk and honey?" Blessed be our Lord, who has placed in us wisdom and understanding of secret things. For the prophet says, "Who shall understand the parable of the Lord, except him who is wise and prudent, and who loves his Lord?"[1] Since, therefore, having renewed us by the remission of our sins, He hath made us after another pattern, [it is His purpose] that we should possess the soul of children, inasmuch as He has created us anew by His Spirit.[2] For the Scripture says concerning us, while He speaks to the Son, "Let us make man after our image, and after our likeness; and let them have dominion over the beasts of the earth, and the fowls of heaven, and the fishes of the sea."[3] And the Lord said, on beholding the fair creature[4] man, "Increase, and multiply, and replenish the earth."[5] These things [were spoken] to the Son. Again, I will show thee how, in respect to us,[6] He has accomplished a second fashioning in these last days. The Lord says, "Behold, I will make[7] the last like the first."[8] In reference to this, then, the prophet proclaimed, "Enter ye into the land flowing with milk and honey, and have dominion over it."[9] Behold, therefore, we have been refashioned, as again He says in another prophet, "Behold, saith the Lord, I will take away from these, that is, from those whom the Spirit of the Lord foresaw, their stony hearts, and I will put hearts of flesh within them,"[10] because He[11] was to be manifested in flesh, and to sojourn among us. For, my brethren, the habitation of our heart is a holy temple to the Lord.[12] For again saith the Lord, "And wherewith shall I appear before the Lord my God, and be glorified?"[13] He says,[14] "I will confess to thee in the church in the midst[1] of my brethren; and I will praise thee in the midst of the assembly of the saints."[2] We, then, are they whom He has led into the good land. What, then, mean the milk and honey? This, that as the infant is kept alive first by honey, and then by milk, so also we, being quickened and kept alive by the faith of the promise and by the word, shall live ruling over the earth. But He said above,[3] "Let them increase, and rule over the fishes."[4] Who then is able to govern the beasts, or the fishes, or the fowls of heaven? For we ought to perceive that to govern implies authority, so that one should command and rule. If, therefore, this does not exist at present, yet still He has promised it to us. When? When we ourselves also have been made perfect [so as] to become heirs of the covenant of the Lord.[5]

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[1] Cod. Sin. has, "their prophets," but the corrector has changed it as above.

A very loose reference to Isa. liii. 8.

[3] Cod. Sin. omits "and," and reads, "when they smite their own shepherd, then the sheep of the pasture shall be scattered and fail."

[4] Zech. xiii. 7.

[5] Cod. Sin. inserts "and."

[6] These are inaccurate and confused quotations from Ps. xxii. 21, 17, and cxix. 120.

[7] Isa. l. 6, 7.

[8] Isa. l. 8.

[9] Isa. l. 9.

[10] The Latin omits "since," but it is found in all the Greek MSS.

[11] Cod. Sin. has "believe." Isa. viii. 14, xxviii. 16.

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[1] Isa. l. 7. [2] Ps. cxviii. 22.

[3] Ps. cxviii. 24.

[4] Comp. 1 Cor. iv. 13. The meaning is, "My love to you is so great, that I am ready to be or to do all things for you."

[5] Ps. xxii. 17, cxviii. 12. [6] Ps. xxii. 19. [7] Isa. iii. 9.

[8] Wisd. ii. 12. This apocryphal book is thus quoted as Scripture, and intertwined with it.

[9] Cod. Sin. reads, "What says the other prophet Moses unto them?"

[10] Ex. xxxiii. 1; Lev. xx. 24.

[11] The original word is "Gnosis," the knowledge peculiar to advanced Christians, by which they understand the mysteries of Scripture.

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[1] Not found in Scripture. Comp. Isa. xl. 13; Prov. i. 6. Hilgenfeld, however, changes the usual punctuation, which places a colon after prophet, and reads, "For the prophet speaketh the parable of the Lord. Who shall understand," etc.

[2] The Greek is here very elliptical and obscure: "His Spirit" is inserted above, from the Latin.

[3] Gen. i. 26.

[4] Cod. Sin. has "our fair formation."

[5] Gen. i. 28.

[6] Cod. Sin. inserts, "the Lord says."

[7] Cod. Sin. has "I make."

[8] Not in Scripture, but comp. Matt. xx. 16, and 2 Cor. v. 17.

[9] Ex. xxxiii. 3.

[10] Ezek. xi. 19, xxxvi. 26.

[11] Cod. Sin. inserts "Himself;" comp. John i. 14.

[12] Comp. Eph. ii. 21.

[13] Comp. Ps. xlii. 2.

[14] Cod. Sin. omits "He says."

CHAP. VII.—*Fasting, and the goat sent away, were types of Christ.*

Understand, then, ye children of gladness, that the good Lord has foreshown all things to us, that we might know to whom we ought for everything to render thanksgiving and praise. If therefore the Son of God, who is Lord [of all things], and who will judge the living and the dead, suffered, that His stroke might give us life, let us believe that the Son of God could not have suffered except for our sakes. Moreover, when fixed to the cross, He had given Him to drink vinegar and gall. Hearken how the priests of the people[6] gave previous indications of this. His commandment having been written, the Lord enjoined, that whosoever did not keep the fast should be put to death, because He also Himself was to offer in sacrifice for our sins the vessel of the Spirit, in order that the type established in Isaac when he was offered upon the altar might be fully accomplished. What, then, says He in the prophet? "And let them eat of the goat which is offered, with fasting, for all their sins."[1] Attend carefully: "And let all the priests alone eat the inwards, unwashed with vinegar." Wherefore? Because to me, who am to offer my flesh for the sins of my new people, ye are to give gall with vinegar to drink: eat ye alone, while the people fast and mourn in sackcloth and ashes. [These things were done] that He might show that it was necessary for Him to suffer for them.[2] How,[3] then, ran the commandment? Give your attention. Take two goats of goodly aspect, and similar to each other, and offer them. And let the priest take one as a burnt-offering for sins.[4] And what should they do with the other? "Accursed," says He, "is the one." Mark how the type of Jesus[5] now comes out. "And all of you spit upon it, and pierce it, and encircle its head with scarlet wool, and thus let it be driven into the wilderness." And when all this has been done, he who bears the goat brings it into the desert, and takes the wool off from it, and places that upon a shrub which is called *Rachia*,[6] of which also we are accustomed to eat the fruits[7] when we find them in the field. Of this[8] kind of shrub alone the fruits are sweet. Why then, again, is this? Give good heed. [You see] "one upon the altar, and the other accursed;"

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[1] Cod. Sin. omits "in the midst."

[2] Ps. xxii. 23; Heb. ii. 12.

[3] Cod. Sin. has, "But we said above."

[4] Gen. i. 28.

[5] These are specimens of the "Gnosis," or faculty of bringing out the hidden spiritual meaning of Scripture referred to before. Many more such interpretations follow.

[6] Cod. Sin. reads "temple," which is adopted by Hilgenfeld.

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[1] Not to be found in Scripture, as is the case also with what follows. Hefele remarks, that "certain false traditions respecting the Jewish rites seem to have prevailed among the Christians of the second century, of which Barnabas here adopts some, as do Justin (*Dial. c. Try.* 40) and Tertullian (*adv. Jud.* 14; *adv. Marc.* iii. 7)."

[2] Cod. Sin. has "by them."

[3] Cod. Sin. reads, "what commanded He?"

[4] Cod. Sin. reads, "one as a burnt-offering, and one for sins."

[5] Cod. Sin. reads, "type of God," but it has been corrected to "Jesus."

[6] In Cod. Sin. we find "*Rachel.*" The orthography is doubtful, but there is little question that a kind of bramble-bush is intended.

[7] Thus the Latin interprets; others render "shoots."

[8] Cod. Sin. has "thus" instead of "this."

and why [do you behold] the one that is accursed crowned? Because they shall see Him then in that day having a scarlet robe about his body down to his feet; and they shall say, Is not this He whom we once despised, and pierced, and mocked, and crucified? Truly this is[1] He who then declared Himself to be the Son of God. For how like is He to Him![2] With a view to this, [He required] the goats to be of goodly aspect, and similar, that, when they see Him then coming, they may be amazed by the likeness of the goat. Behold, then,[3] the type of Jesus who was to suffer. But why is it that they place the wool in the midst of thorns? It is a type of Jesus set before the view of the church. [They[4] place the wool among thorns], that any one who wishes to bear it away may find it necessary to suffer much, because the thorn is formidable, and thus obtain it only as the result of suffering. Thus also, says He, "Those who wish to behold me, and lay hold of my kingdom, must through tribulation and suffering obtain me."[5]

CHAP. VIII.—*The red heifer a type of Christ.*

Now what do you suppose this to be a type of, that a command was given to Israel, that men of the greatest wickedness[6] should offer a heifer, and slay and burn it, and that then boys should take the ashes, and put these into vessels, and bind round a stick[7] purple wool along with hyssop, and that thus the boys should sprinkle the people, one by one, in order that they might be purified from their sins? Consider how

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[1] Literally, "was."

[2] The text is here in great confusion, though the meaning is plain. Dressel reads, "For how are they alike, and why [does He enjoin] that the goats should be good and alike?" The Cod. Sin. reads, "How is He like Him? For this that," etc.

[3] Cod. Sin. here inserts "the goat."

[4] Cod. Sin. reads, "for as he who . . . so, says he," etc.

[5] Comp. Acts xiv. 22.

[6] Literally, "men in whom sins are perfect." Of this, and much more that follows, no mention is made in Scripture.

[7] Cod. Sin. has "upon sticks," and adds, "Behold again the type of the cross, both the scarlet wool and the hyssop,"—adopted by Hilgenfeld.

He speaks to you with simplicity. The calf[1] is Jesus: the sinful men offering it are those who led Him to the slaughter. But now the men are no longer guilty, are no longer regarded as sinners.[2] And the boys that sprinkle are those that have proclaimed to us the remission of sins and purification of heart. To these He gave authority to preach the gospel, being twelve in number, corresponding to the twelve tribes[3] of Israel. But why are there three boys that sprinkle? To correspond[4] to Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, because these were great with God. And why was the wool [placed] upon the wood? Because by wood Jesus holds His kingdom, so that [through the cross] those believing on Him shall live for ever. But why was hyssop joined with the wool? Because in His kingdom the days will be evil and polluted in which we shall be saved, [and] because he who suffers in body is cured through the cleansing[5] efficacy of hyssop. And on this account the things which stand thus are clear to us, but obscure to them, because they did not hear the voice of the Lord.

CHAP. IX.—*The spiritual meaning of circumcision.*

He speaks moreover concerning our ears, how He hath circumcised both them and our heart. The Lord saith in the prophet, "In the hearing of the ear they obeyed me."[6] And again He saith, "By hearing, those shall hear who are afar off; they shall know what I have done."[7] And, "Be ye circumcised in your hearts, saith the Lord."[8] And again He says, "Hear, O Israel, for these things saith the Lord thy God."[9] And once more the Spirit of the Lord proclaims, "Who is he that wishes to live for ever? By hearing let him hear the voice of my servant."[1] And again He saith, "Hear, O heaven, and give ear, O earth, for God[2] hath spoken."[3] These are in proof.[4] And again He saith, "Hear the word of the Lord, ye rulers of this people."[5] And again He saith, "Hear, ye children, the voice of one crying in the wilderness."[6] Therefore He hath circumcised our ears, that we might hear His word and believe, for the circumcision in which they trusted is abolished.[7] For He declared that circumcision was not of the flesh, but they transgressed because an evil angel deluded them.[8] He saith to them, "These things saith the Lord your God"—(here[9] I find a new[10] commandment)—"Sow not among thorns, but circumcise yourselves to the Lord."[11] And why speaks He thus: "Circumcise the stubbornness of your heart, and harden not your neck?"[12] And again: "Behold, saith the Lord, all the nations are uncircumcised[13] in the flesh, but this people are uncircumcised in heart."[14] But thou wilt say, "Yea, verily the people are circumcised for a seal." But so also is every Syrian and Arab, and all the priests of idols: are these then also within the bond of His covenant?[15] Yea, the Egyptians also practise circumcision. Learn then, my children, con-

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[1] Cod. Sin. has, "the law is Christ Jesus," corrected to the above.

[2] The Greek text is, "then no longer [sinful] men, no longer the glory of sinners," which Dressel defends and Hilgenfeld adopts, but which is surely corrupt.

[3] Literally, "in witness of the tribes."

[4] "In witness of."

[5] Thus the sense seems to require, and thus Dressel translates, though it is difficult to extract such a meaning from the Greek text.

[6] Ps. xviii. 44.

[7] Isa. xxxiii. 13.

[8] Jer. iv. 4.

[9] Jer. vii. 2.

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[1] Ps. xxxiv. 11-13. The first clause of this sentence is wanting in Cod. Sin.

[2] Cod. Sin. has "Lord."

[3] Isa. i. 2.

[4] In proof of the spiritual meaning of circumcision; but Hilgenfeld joins the words to the preceding sentence.

[5] Isa. i. 10.

[6] Cod. Sin. reads, "it is the voice," corrected, however, as above.

[7] Cod. Sin. has, "that we might hear the word, and not only believe," plainly a corrupt text.

[8] Cod. Sin., at first hand, has "slew them," but is corrected as above.

[9] The meaning is here very obscure, but the above rendering and punctuation seem preferable to any other.

[10] Cod. Sin., with several other MSS., leaves out "new."

[11] Jer. iv. 3. Cod. Sin. has "God" instead of "Lord."

[12] Deut. x. 16.

[13] This contrast seems to be marked in the original. Cod. Sin. has, "Behold, receive again."

[14] Jer. ix. 25, 26.

[15] Dressel and Hilgenfeld read, "their covenant," as does Cod. Sin.; we have followed Hefele.

cerning all things richly,[1] that Abraham, the first who enjoined circumcision, looking forward in spirit to Jesus, practised that rite, having received the mysteries[2] of the three letters. For [the Scripture] saith, "And Abraham circumcised ten, and eight, and three hundred men of his household."[3] What, then, was the knowledge given to him in this? Learn the eighteen first, and then the three hundred.[4] The ten and the eight are thus denoted—Ten by I, and Eight by H.[5] You have [the initials of the name of] Jesus. And because[6] the cross was to express the grace [of our redemption] by the letter T, he says also, "Three Hundred." He signifies, therefore, Jesus by two letters, and the cross by one. He knows this, who has put within us the engrafted[7] gift of His doctrine. No one has been admitted by me to a more excellent piece of knowledge[8] than this, but I know that ye are worthy.

CHAP. X.—*Spiritual significance of the precepts of Moses respecting different kinds of food.*

Now, wherefore did Moses say, "Thou shalt not eat the swine, nor the eagle, nor the hawk, nor the raven, nor any fish which is not possessed of scales?"[9] He embraced three doctrines in his mind [in doing so]. Moreover, the Lord saith to them in Deuteronomy, "And I will establish my ordinances among this people."[1] Is there then not a command of God that they should not eat [these things]? There is, but Moses spoke with a spiritual reference.[2] For this reason he named the swine, as much as to say, "Thou shalt not join thyself to men who resemble swine." For when they live in pleasure, they forget their Lord; but when they come to want, they acknowledge the Lord. And [in like manner] the swine, when it has eaten, does not recognise its master; but when hungry it cries out, and on receiving food is quiet again. "Neither shalt thou eat," says he, "the eagle, nor the hawk, nor the kite, nor the raven." "Thou shalt not join thyself," he means, "to such men as know not how to procure food for themselves by labour and sweat, but seize on that of others in their iniquity, and although wearing an aspect of simplicity, are on the watch to plunder others."[3] So these birds, while they sit idle, inquire how they may devour the flesh of others, proving themselves pests [to all] by their wickedness. "And thou shalt not eat," he says, "the lamprey, or the polypus, or the cuttle-fish." He means, "Thou shalt not join thyself or be like to such men as are ungodly to the end, and are condemned[4] to death." In like manner as those fishes, above accursed, float in the deep, not swimming [on the surface] like the rest, but make their abode in the mud which lies at the bottom. Moreover, "Thou shalt not," he says, "eat the hare." Wherefore? "Thou shalt not be a corrupter of boys, nor like unto such."[5] Because the hare multiplies, year by year, the places of its conception; for as many years as it lives so many[1] it has. Moreover, "Thou shalt not eat the hyena." He means, "Thou shalt not be an adulterer, nor a corrupter, nor be like to them that are such." Wherefore? Because that animal annually changes its sex, and is at one time male, and at another female. Moreover, he has rightly detested the weasel. For he means, "Thou shalt not be like to those whom we hear of as committing wickedness with the mouth,[2] on account of their uncleanness; nor shalt thou be joined to those impure women who commit iniquity with the mouth. For this animal conceives by the mouth." Moses then issued[3] three doctrines concerning meats with a spiritual significance; but they received them according to fleshly desire, as if he had merely spoken of [literal] meats. David, however, comprehends the knowledge of the three doctrines, and speaks in like manner: "Blessed is the man who hath not walked in the counsel of the ungodly,"[4] even as the fishes [referred to] go in darkness to the depths [of the sea]; "and hath not stood in the way of sinners," even as those who profess to fear the Lord, but go astray like swine; "and hath not sat in the seat of the scorners,"[5] even as those birds that lie in wait for prey. Take a full and firm grasp of this spiritual[6] knowledge. But Moses says still further, "Ye shall eat every animal that is cloven-footed and ruminant." What does he mean? [The ruminant animal denotes him] who, on receiving food, recognises Him that nourishes him, and being satisfied by Him,[7] is visibly made glad. Well spake [Moses], having respect to the commandment. What, then, does he mean? That we ought to join ourselves to those that fear the Lord, those who meditate in their heart on the commandment which they have received, those who both utter the judgments of the Lord and observe them, those who know that meditation is a work of gladness, and who ruminate[1] upon the word of the Lord. But what means the cloven-footed? That the righteous man also walks in this world, yet looks forward to the holy state[2] [to come]. Behold how well Moses legislated. But how was it possible for them to understand or comprehend these things? We then, rightly understanding his commandments,[3] explain them as the Lord intended. For this purpose He circumcised our ears and our hearts, that we might understand these things.

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[1] Cod. Sin. has "children of love," omitting "richly," and inserting it before "looking forward."

[2] Literally, "doctrines."

[3] Not found in Scripture; but comp. Gen. xvii. 26, 27, xiv. 14.

[4] Cod. Sin. inserts, "and then making a pause."

[5] This sentence is altogether omitted by inadvertence in Cod. Sin.

[6] Some MSS. here read, "and further:" the above is the reading in Cod. Sin., and is also that of Hefele.

[7] This is rendered in the Latin, "the more profound gift," referring, as it does, to the *Gnosis* of the initiated. The same word is used in chap. i.

[8] Literally, "has learned a more germane (or genuine) word from me," being an idle vaunt on account of the ingenuity in interpreting Scripture he has just displayed.

[9] Cod. Sin. has "portion," corrected, however, as above. See Lev. xi. and Deut. xiv.

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[1] Deut. iv. 1.

[2] Literally, "in spirit."

[3] Cod. Sin. inserts, "and gaze about for some way of escape on account of their greediness, even as these birds alone do not procure food for themselves (by labour), but sitting idle, seek to devour the flesh of others." The text as above seems preferable: Hilgenfeld, however, follows the Greek.

[4] Cod. Sin. has, "condemned already."

[5] Dressel has a note upon this passage, in which he refers the words we have rendered "corrupters of boys," to those who by their dissolute lives waste their fortunes, and so entail destruction on their children; but this does not appear satisfactory. Comp. Clem. Alex. *Pædag.* ii. 10.

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[1] We have left τρύπας untranslated.

[2] Cod. Sin. has, "with the body through uncleanness," and so again in the last clause.

[3] Cod. Sin. inserts, "having received."

[4] Ps. i. 1.

[5] Literally, "of the pestilent."

[6] Cod. Sin. reads "perfectly" instead of "perfect," as do most MSS.; but, according to Dressel, we should read, "have a perfect knowledge concerning the food." Hilgenfeld follows the Greek.

[7] Or, "resting upon Him."

CHAP. XI.—*Baptism and the cross prefigured in the Old Testament.*

Let us further inquire whether the Lord took any care to foreshadow the water [of baptism] and the cross. Concerning the water, indeed, it is written, in reference to the Israelites, that they should not receive that baptism which leads to the remission of sins, but should procure[4] another for themselves. The prophet therefore declares, "Be astonished, O heaven, and let the earth tremble[5] at this, because this people hath committed two great evils: they have forsaken me, a living fountain, and have hewn out for themselves broken cisterns.[6] Is my holy hill Zion a desolate rock? For ye shall be as the fledglings of a bird, which fly away when the nest is removed."[7] And again saith the prophet, "I will go before thee and make level the mountains, and will break the brazen gates, and bruise in pieces the iron bars; and I will give thee the secret,[8] hidden, invisible treasures, that they may know that I am the Lord God."[1] And "He shall dwell in a lofty cave of the strong rock."[2] Furthermore, what saith He in reference to the Son? "His water is sure;[3] ye shall see the King in His glory, and your soul shall meditate on the fear of the Lord."[4] And again He saith in another prophet, "The man who doeth these things shall be like a tree planted by the courses of waters, which shall yield its fruit in due season; and his leaf shall not fade, and all that he doeth shall prosper. Not so are the ungodly, not so, but even as chaff, which the wind sweeps away from the face of the earth. Therefore the ungodly shall not stand in judgment, nor sinners in the counsel of the just; for the Lord knoweth the way of the righteous, but the way of the ungodly shall perish."[5] Mark how He has described at once both the water and the cross. For these words imply, Blessed are they who, placing their trust in the cross, have gone down into the water; for, says He, they shall receive their reward in due time: then He declares, I will recompense them. But now He saith,[6] "Their leaves shall not fade." This meaneth, that every word which proceedeth out of your mouth in faith and love shall tend to bring conversion and hope to many. Again, another prophet saith, "And the land of Jacob shall be extolled above every land."[7] This meaneth the vessel of His Spirit, which He shall glorify. Further, what says He? "And there was a river flowing on the right, and from it arose beautiful trees; and whosoever shall eat of them shall live for ever."[8] This meaneth,[9] that we indeed descend into the water full of sins and defilement, but come up, bearing fruit in our heart, having the fear [of God] and trust in Jesus in our spirit. "And whosoever shall eat of these shall live for ever." This meaneth: Whosoever, He declares, shall hear thee speaking, and believe, shall live for ever.

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[1] Cod. Sin. here has the singular, "one who ruminates."

[2] Literally, "holy age."

[3] Cod. Sin. inserts again, "rightly."

[4] Literally, "should build."

[5] Cod. Sin. has, "confine still more," corrected to "tremble still more."

[6] Cod. Sin. has, "have dug a pit of death." See Jer. ii. 12, 13.

[7] Comp. Isa. xvi. 1, 2.

[8] Literally, "dark." Cod. Sin. has, "of darkness."

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[1] Isa. xlv. 2, 3.

[2] Isa. xxxiii. 16. Cod. Sin. has, "thou shalt dwell."

[3] Cod. Sin. entirely omits the question given above, and joins "the water is sure" to the former sentence.

[4] Isa. xxxiii. 16–18.

[5] Ps. i. 3–6.

[6] Cod. Sin. has, "what meaneth?"

[7] Zeph. iii. 19.

[8] Ezek. xlvii. 12.

[9] Omitted in Cod. Sin.

CHAP. XII.—*The cross of Christ frequently announced in the Old Testament.*

In like manner He points to the cross of Christ in another prophet, who saith,[1] "And when shall these things be accomplished? And the Lord saith, When a tree shall be bent down, and again arise, and when blood shall flow out of wood."[2] Here again you have an intimation concerning the cross, and Him who should be crucified. Yet again He speaks of this[3] in Moses, when Israel was attacked by strangers. And that He might remind them, when assailed, that it was on account of their sins they were delivered to death, the Spirit speaks to the heart of Moses, that he should make a figure of the cross, [4]and of Him about to suffer thereon; for unless they put their trust in Him, they shall be overcome for ever. Moses therefore placed one weapon above another in the midst of the hill,[5] and standing upon it, so as to be higher than all the people, he stretched forth his hands,[6] and thus again Israel acquired the mastery. But when again he let down his hands, they were again destroyed. For what reason? That they might know that they could not be saved unless they put their trust in Him.[7] And in another prophet He declares, "All day long I have stretched forth my hands to an unbelieving people, and one that gainsays my righteous way."[8] And again Moses makes a type of Jesus, [signifying] that it was necessary for Him to suffer, [and also] that He would be the author of life[9] [to others], whom they believed to have destroyed on the cross[1] when Israel was falling. For since transgression was committed by Eve through means of the serpent, [the Lord] brought it to pass that every [kind of] serpents bit them, and they died,[2] that He might convince them, that on account of their transgression they were given over to the straits of death. Moreover Moses, when he commanded, "Ye shall not have any graven or molten [image] for your God,"[3] did so that he might reveal a type of Jesus. Moses then makes a brazen serpent, and places it upon a beam,[4] and by proclamation assembles the people. When, therefore, they were come together, they besought Moses that he would offer sacrifice[5] in their behalf, and pray for their recovery. And Moses spake unto them, saying, "When any one of you is bitten, let him come to the serpent placed on the pole; and let him hope and believe, that even though dead, it is able to give him life, and immediately he shall be restored."[6] And they did so. Thou hast in this also [an indication of] the glory of Jesus; for in Him and to Him are all things.[7] What, again, says Moses to Jesus (Joshua) the son of Nave, when he gave him[8] this name, as being a prophet, with this view only, that all the people might hear that the Father would reveal all things concerning His Son Jesus to the son[9] of Nave? This name then being given him when he sent him to spy out the land, he said, "Take a book into thy hands, and write what the Lord declares, that the Son of God will in the last days cut off from the roots all the house of Amalek."[10] Behold again: Jesus who was manifested, both by type and in the flesh,[11] is not the Son of man, but the Son of God. Since, therefore, they were to say that Christ was the son[1] of David, fearing and understanding the error of the wicked, he saith, "The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit at my right hand, until I make Thine enemies Thy footstool."[2] And again, thus saith Isaiah, "The Lord said to Christ,[3] my Lord, whose right hand I have holden,[4] that the nations should yield obedience before Him; and I will break in pieces the strength of kings."[5] Behold how David calleth Him Lord and the Son of God.

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[1] Cod. Sin. refers this to *God*, and not to the prophet.

[2] From some unknown apocryphal book. Hilgenfeld compares Hab. ii. 11.

[3] Cod. Sin. reads, "He speaks to Moses."

[4] Cod. Sin. omits "and."

[5] Cod. Sin. reads *πυγμῆς*, which must here be translated "heap" or "mass." According to Hilgenfeld, however, *πυγμή* is here equivalent to *πυγμαχία*, "a fight." The meaning would then be, that "Moses piled weapon upon weapon in the midst of the *battle*," instead of "hill" (*πήγης*), as above.

[6] Thus standing in the form of a cross.

[7] Or, as some read, "in the cross."

[8] Isa. lxv. 2.

[9] Cod. Sin. has, "and He shall make him alive."

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[1] Literally, "the sign."

[2] Comp. Num. xxi. 6–9; John iii. 14–18.

[3] Deut. xxvii. 15. Cod. Sin. reads, "molten or graven."

[4] Instead of ἐν δοκῷ, "on a beam," Cod. Sin. with other MSS. has ἐνδόξως, "manifestly," which is adopted by Hilgenfeld.

[5] Cod. Sin. simply reads, "offer supplication."

[6] Num. xxi. 9.

[7] Comp. Col. i. 16.

[8] Cod. Sin. has the imperative, "Put on him;" but it is connected as above.

[9] Cod. Sin. closes the sentence with *Jesus*, and inserts, "Moses said therefore to Jesus."

[10] Ex. xvii. 14.

[11] Comp. 1 Tim. iii. 16.

CHAP. XIII.—*Christians, and not Jews, the heirs of the covenant.*

But let us see if this people[6] is the heir, or the former, and if the covenant belongs to us or to them. Hear ye now what the Scripture saith concerning the people. Isaac prayed for Rebecca his wife, because she was barren; and she conceived.[7] Furthermore also, Rebecca went forth to inquire of the Lord; and the Lord said to her, "Two nations are in thy womb, and two peoples in thy belly; and the one people shall surpass the other, and the elder shall serve the younger."[8] You ought to understand who was Isaac, who Rebecca, and concerning what persons He declared that this people should be greater than that. And in another prophecy Jacob speaks more clearly to his son Joseph, saying, "Behold, the Lord hath not deprived me of thy presence; bring thy sons to me, that I may bless them."[9] And he brought Manasseh and Ephraim, desiring that Manasseh[10] should be blessed, because he was the elder. With this view Joseph led him to the right hand of his father Jacob. But Jacob saw in spirit the type of the people to arise afterwards. And what says [the Scripture]? And Jacob changed the direction of his hands, and laid his right hand upon the head of Ephraim, the second and younger, and blessed him. And Joseph said to Jacob, "Transfer thy right hand to the head of Manasseh,[1] for he is my first-born son."[2] And Jacob said, "I know it, my son, I know it; but the elder shall serve the younger: yet he also shall be blessed."[3] Ye see on whom he laid[4] [his hands], that this people should be first, and heir of the covenant. If then, still further, the same thing was intimated through Abraham, we reach the perfection of our knowledge. What, then, says He to Abraham? "Because thou hast believed,[5] it is imputed to thee for righteousness: behold, I have made thee the father of those nations who believe in the Lord while in [a state of] uncircumcision."[6]

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[1] That is, merely human: a reference is supposed to the Ebionites.

[2] Ps. cx. 1; Matt. xxii. 43–45.

[3] Cod. Sin. corrects "to Cyrus," as LXX.

[4] Cod. Sin. has, "he has taken hold."

[5] Isa. xlv. 1.

[6] That is, "Christians."

[7] Gen. xxv. 21.

[8] Gen. xxv. 23.

[9] Gen. xlviii. 11, 9.

[10] Cod. Sin. reads each time "Ephraim," by a manifest mistake, instead of Manasseh.

CHAP. XIV.—*The Lord hath given us the testament which Moses received and broke.*

Yes [it is even so]; but let us inquire if the Lord has really given that testament which He swore to the fathers that He would give[7] to the people. He did give it; but they were not worthy to receive it, on account of their sins. For the prophet declares, "And Moses was fasting forty days and forty nights on Mount Sinai, that he might receive the testament of the Lord for the people."[8] And he received from the Lord[9] two tables, written in the spirit by the finger of the hand of the Lord. And Moses having received them, carried them down to give to the people. And the Lord said to Moses, "Moses, Moses, go down quickly; for thy people hath sinned, whom thou didst bring out of the land of Egypt."[1] And Moses understood that they had again[2] made molten images; and he threw the tables out of his hands, and the tables of the testament of the Lord were broken. Moses then received it, but they proved themselves unworthy. Learn now how *we* have received it. Moses, as a servant,[3] received it; but the Lord himself, having suffered in our behalf, hath given it to us, that we should be the people of inheritance. But He was manifested, in order that they might be perfected in their iniquities, and that we, being constituted heirs through Him,[4] might receive the testament of the Lord Jesus, who was prepared for this end, that by His personal manifestation, redeeming our hearts (which were already wasted by death, and given over to the iniquity of error) from darkness, He might by His word enter into a covenant with us. For it is written how the Father, about to redeem[5] us from darkness, commanded Him to prepare[6] a holy people for Himself. The prophet therefore declares, "I, the Lord Thy God, have called Thee in righteousness, and will hold Thy hand, and will strengthen Thee; and I have given Thee for a covenant to the people, for a light to the nations, to open the eyes of the blind, and to bring forth from fetters them that are bound, and those that sit in darkness out of the prison-house."[7] Ye perceive,[8] then, whence we have been redeemed. And again, the prophet says, "Behold, I have appointed Thee as a light to the nations, that Thou mightest be for salvation even to the ends of the earth, saith the Lord God that redeemeth thee."[9]

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[1] Cod. Sin. reads each time "Ephraim," by a manifest mistake, instead of Manasseh.

[2] Gen. xlviii. 18.

[3] Gen. xlviii. 19.

[4] Or, "of whom he willed."

[5] Cod. Sin. has, "when alone believing," and is followed by Hilgenfeld to this effect: "What, then, says He to Abraham, when, alone believing, he was placed in righteousness? Behold," etc.

[6] Gen. xv. 6, xvii. 5; comp. Rom. iv. 3.

[7] Cod. Sin. absurdly repeats "to give."

[8] Ex. xxiv. 18.

[9] Ex. xxxi. 18.

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[1] Ex. xxxii. 7; Deut. ix. 12.

[2] Cod. Sin. reads, "for themselves."

[3] Comp. Heb. iii. 5.

[4] Cod. Sin. and other MSS. read, "through Him who inherited."

[5] Cod. Sin. refers this to Christ.

[6] Cod. Sin. reads, "be prepared." Hilgenfeld follows Cod. Sin. so far, and reads, "For it is written how the Father commanded Him who was to redeem us from darkness (*αὐτῷ—λυτρωσάμενον*) to prepare a holy people for Himself."

[7] Isa. xlii. 6, 7.

[8] Cod. Sin. has, "we know."

[9] Isa. xlix. 6. The text of Cod. Sin., and of the other MSS., is here in great confusion: we have followed that given by Hefele.

And again, the prophet saith, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me; because He hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the humble: He hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to proclaim deliverance to the captives, and recovery of sight to the blind; to announce the acceptable year of the Lord, and the day of recompense; to comfort all that mourn."[1]

CHAP. XV.—*The false and the true Sabbath.*

Further,[2] also, it is written concerning the Sabbath in the Decalogue which [the Lord] spoke, face to face, to Moses on Mount Sinai, "And sanctify ye the Sabbath of the Lord with clean hands and a pure heart."[3] And He says in another place, "If my sons keep the Sabbath, then will I cause my mercy to rest upon them."[4] The Sabbath is mentioned at the beginning of the creation [thus]: "And God made in six days the works of His hands, and made an end on the seventh day, and rested on it, and sanctified it."[5] Attend, my children, to the meaning of this expression, "He finished in six days." This implieth that the Lord will finish all things in six thousand years, for a day is[6] with Him a thousand years. And He Himself testifieth,[7] saying, "Behold, to-day[8] will be as a thousand years."[9] Therefore, my children, in six days, that is, in six thousand years, all things will be finished. "And He rested on the seventh day." This meaneth: when His Son, coming [again], shall destroy the time of the wicked man,[10] and judge the ungodly, and change the sun, and the moon,[11] and the stars, then shall He truly rest on the seventh day. Moreover, He says, "Thou shalt sanctify it with pure hands and a pure heart." If, therefore, any one can now sanctify the day which God hath sanctified, except he is pure in heart in all things,[1] we are deceived.[2] Behold, therefore:[3] certainly then one properly resting sanctifies it, when we ourselves, having received the promise, wickedness no longer existing, and all things having been made new by the Lord, shall be able to work righteousness.[4] Then we shall be able to sanctify it, having been first sanctified ourselves.[5] Further, He says to them, "Your new moons and your Sabbaths I cannot endure."[6] Ye perceive how He speaks: Your present Sabbaths are not acceptable to me, but that is which I have made, [namely this,] when, giving rest to all things, I shall make a beginning of the eighth day, that is, a beginning of another world. Wherefore, also, we keep the eighth day with joyfulness. the day also on which Jesus rose again from the dead.[7] And[8] when He had manifested Himself, He ascended into the heavens.

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[1] Isa. lxi. 1, 2.

[2] Cod. Sin. reads "because," but this is corrected to "moreover."

[3] Ex. xx. 8; Deut. v. 12.

[4] Jer. xvii. 24, 25.

[5] Gen. ii. 2. The Hebrew text is here followed, the Septuagint reading "sixth" instead of "seventh."

[6] Cod. Sin. reads "signifies."

[7] Cod. Sin. adds, "to me."

[8] Cod. Sin. reads, "The day of the Lord shall be as a thousand years."

[9] Ps. xc. 4; 2 Pet. iii. 8.

[10] Cod. Sin. seems properly to omit "of the wicked man."

[11] Cod. Sin. places *stars* before *moon.*

CHAP. XVI.—*The spiritual temple of God.*

Moreover, I will also tell you concerning the temple, how the wretched [Jews], wandering in error, trusted not in God Himself, but in the temple, as being the house of God. For almost after the manner of the Gentiles they worshipped Him in the temple.[1] But learn how the Lord speaks, when abolishing it: "Who hath meted out heaven with a span, and the earth with his palm? Have not I?"[2] "Thus saith the Lord, Heaven is my throne, and the earth my footstool: what kind of house will ye build to me, or what is the place of my rest?"[3] Ye perceive that their hope is vain. Moreover, He again says, "Behold, they who have cast down this temple, even they shall build it up again."[4] It has so happened.[5] For through their going to war, it was destroyed by their enemies; and now they, as the servants of their enemies, shall rebuild it. Again, it was revealed that the city and the temple and the people of Israel were to be given up. For the Scripture saith, "And it shall come to pass in the last days, that the Lord will deliver up the sheep of His pasture, and their sheep-fold and tower, to destruction."[6] And it so happened as the Lord had spoken. Let us inquire, then, if there still is a temple of God. There is—where He himself declared He would make and finish it. For it is written, "And it shall come to pass, when the week is completed, the temple of God shall be built in glory in the name of the Lord."[7] I find, therefore, that a temple does exist. Learn, then, how it shall be built in the name of the Lord. Before we believed in God, the habitation of our heart was corrupt and weak, as being indeed like a temple made with hands. For it was full of idolatry, and was a habitation of demons, through our doing such things as were opposed to [the will of] God. But it shall be built, observe ye, in the name of the Lord, in order that the temple of the Lord may be built in glory. How? Learn [as follows]. Having received the forgiveness of sins, and placed our trust

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[1] Cod. Sin. reads "again," but is corrected as above.

[2] The meaning is, "If the Sabbaths of the Jews were the true Sabbath, we should have been deceived by God, who demands pure hands and a pure heart."—HEFELE.

[3] Cod. Sin. has, "But if not." Hilgenfeld's text of this confused passage reads as follows: "Who then can sanctify the day which God has sanctified, except the man who is of a pure heart? We are deceived (or mistaken) in all things. Behold, therefore," etc.

[4] Cod. Sin. reads, "resting aright, we shall sanctify it, having been justified, and received the promise, iniquity no longer existing, but all things having been made new by the Lord."

[5] Cod. Sin. reads, "Shall we not then?"

[6] Isa. i. 13.

[7] "Barnabas here bears testimony to the observance of the Lord's day in early times."—HEFELE.

[8] We here follow the punctuation of Dressel: Hefele places only a comma between the clauses, and inclines to think that the writer implies that the ascension of Christ took place on the first day of the week.

abolition temple

temple destroyed

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[1] That is, "they worshipped the temple instead of Him."

[2] Isa. xl. 12.

[3] Isa. lxvi. 1.

[4] Comp. Isa. xlix. 17 (Sept.).

[5] Cod. Sin. omits this.

[6] Comp. Isa. v., Jer. xxv.; but the words do not occur in Scripture.

[7] Dan. ix. 24–27; Hagg. ii. 10.

in the name of the Lord, we have become new creatures, formed again from the beginning. Wherefore in our habitation God truly dwells in us. How? His word of faith; His calling[1] of promise; the wisdom of the statutes; the commands of the doctrine; He himself prophesying in us; He himself dwelling in us; opening to us who were enslaved by death the doors of the temple, that is, the mouth; and by giving us repentance introduced us into the incorruptible temple.[2] He then, who wishes to be saved, looks not to man,[3] but to Him who dwelleth in him, and speaketh in him, amazed at never having either heard him utter such words with his mouth, nor himself having ever desired to hear them.[4] This is the spiritual temple built for the Lord.

CHAP. XVII.—*Conclusion of the first part of the epistle.*

As far as was possible, and could be done with perspicuity, I cherish the hope that, according to my desire, I have omitted none[5] of those things at present [demanding consideration], which bear upon your salvation. For if I should write to you about things future,[6] ye would not understand, because such knowledge is hid in parables. These things then are so.

CHAP. XVIII.—*Second part of the epistle. The two ways.*

But let us now pass to another sort of knowledge and doctrine. There are two ways of doctrine and authority, the one of light, and the other of darkness. But there is a great difference between these two ways. For over one are stationed the light-bringing angels of God, but over the other the angels[1] of Satan. And He indeed (*i.e.* God) is Lord for ever and ever, but he (*i.e.* Satan) is prince of the time[2] of iniquity.

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[1] Cod. Sin. reads, "the calling."

[2] Cod. Sin. gives the clauses of this sentence separately, each occupying a line.

[3] That is, the man who is engaged in preaching the gospel.

[4] Such is the punctuation adopted by Hefele, Dressel, and Hilgenfeld.

[5] Cod. Sin. reads, "my soul hopes that it has not omitted anything."

[6] Cod. Sin., "about things present or future." Hilgenfeld's text of this passage is as follows: "My mind and soul hopes that, according to my desire, I have omitted none of the things that pertain to salvation. For if I should write to you about things present or future," etc. Hefele gives the text as above, and understands the meaning to be, "points bearing on the *present* argument."

CHAP. XIX.—*The way of light.*

The way of light, then, is as follows. If any one desires to travel to the appointed place, he must be zealous in his works. The knowledge, therefore, which is given to us for the purpose of walking in this way, is the following. Thou shalt love Him that created thee:[3] thou shalt glorify Him that redeemed thee from death. Thou shalt be simple in heart, and rich in spirit. Thou shalt not join thyself to those who walk in the way of death. Thou shalt hate doing what is unpleasing to God: thou shalt hate all hypocrisy. Thou shalt not forsake the commandments of the Lord. Thou shalt not exalt thyself, but shalt be of a lowly mind.[4] Thou shalt not take glory to thyself. Thou shalt not take evil counsel against thy neighbour. Thou shalt not allow over-boldness to enter into thy soul.[5] Thou shalt not commit fornication: thou shalt not commit adultery: thou shalt not be a corrupter of youth. Thou shalt not let the word of God issue from thy lips with any kind of impurity.[6] Thou shalt not accept persons when thou reprovest any one for transgression. Thou shalt be meek: thou shalt be peaceable. Thou shalt tremble at the words which thou hearest.[7] Thou shalt not be mindful of evil against thy brother. Thou shalt not be of doubtful mind[1] as to whether a thing shall be or not. Thou shalt not take the name[2] of the Lord in vain. Thou shalt love thy neighbour more than thine own soul.[3] Thou shalt not slay the child by procuring abortion; nor, again, shalt thou destroy it after it is born. Thou shalt not withdraw thy hand from thy son, or from thy daughter, but from their infancy thou shalt teach them the fear of the Lord.[4] Thou shalt not covet what is thy neighbour's, nor shalt thou be avaricious. Thou shalt not be joined in soul with the haughty, but thou shalt be reckoned with the righteous and lowly. Receive thou as good things the trials[5] which come upon thee.[6] Thou shalt not be of double mind or of double tongue,[7] for a double tongue is a snare of death. Thou shalt be subject[8] to the Lord, and to [other] masters as the image of God, with modesty and fear. Thou shalt not issue orders with bitterness to thy maid-servant or thy man-servant, who trust in the same [God[9]], lest thou shouldst not[10] reverence that God who is above both; for He came to call men not according to their outward appearance,[11] but according as the Spirit had prepared them.[12] Thou shalt communicate in all things with thy neighbour; thou shalt not call[13] things thine own; for if ye are partakers in common of things which are incorruptible,[14] how much more [should you be] of those things which are corruptible![15] Thou shalt not be hasty with thy tongue, for the mouth is a snare of death.

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[1] Comp. 2 Cor. xii. 7.

[2] Cod. Sin. reads, "of the present time of iniquity."

[3] Cod. Sin. inserts, "Thou shalt fear Him that formed thee."

[4] Cod. Sin. adds, "in all things."

[5] Literally, "shalt not give insolence to thy soul."

[6] "That is, while proclaiming the gospel, thou shalt not in any way be of corrupt morals."—HEFELE.

[7] Isa. lxvi. 2. All the preceding clauses are given in Cod. Sin. in distinct lines.

[1] Comp. James i. 8.

[2] Cod. Sin. has "thy name," but this is corrected as above.

[3] Cod. Sin. corrects to, "as thine own soul."

[4] Cod. Sin. has, "of God."

[5] "Difficulties," or "troubles."

[6] Cod. Sin. adds, "knowing that without God nothing happens."

[7] Cod. Sin. has "talkative," and omits the following clause.

[8] Cod. Sin. has, "Thou shalt be subject (ὑποταγη—untouched by the corrector) to masters as a type of God."

[9] Inserted in Cod. Sin.

[10] Cod. Sin. has, "they should not."

[11] Comp. Eph. vi. 9.

[12] Comp. Rom. viii. 29, 30.

[13] Cod. Sin. has, "and not call."

[14] Cod. Sin. has, "in that which is incorruptible."

[15] Cod. Sin. has, "in things that are subject to death," but is corrected as above.

As far as possible, thou shalt be pure in thy soul. Do not be ready to stretch forth thy hands to take, whilst thou contractest them to give. Thou shalt love, as the apple of thine eye, every one that speaketh to thee the word of the Lord. Thou shalt remember the day of judgment, night and day. Thou shalt seek out every day the faces of the saints,[1] either by word examining them, and going to exhort them, and meditating how to save a soul by the word,[2] or by thy hands thou shalt labour for the redemption of thy sins. Thou shalt not hesitate to give, nor murmur when thou givest. "Give to every one that asketh thee,"[3] and thou shalt know who is the good Recompenser of the reward. Thou shalt preserve what thou hast received [in charge], neither adding to it nor taking from it. To the last thou shalt hate the wicked[4] [one].[5] Thou shalt judge righteously. Thou shalt not make a schism, but thou shalt pacify those that contend by bringing them together. Thou shalt confess thy sins. Thou shalt not go to prayer with an evil conscience. This is the way of light.[6]

CHAP. XX.—*The way of darkness.*

But the way of darkness[7] is crooked, and full of cursing; for it is the way of eternal[8] death with punishment, in which way are the things that destroy the soul, viz. idolatry, over-confidence, the arrogance of power, hypocrisy, doubleheartedness, adultery, murder, rapine, haughtiness, transgression,[1] deceit, malice, self-sufficiency, poisoning, magic, avarice,[2] want of the fear of God. [In this way, too,] are those who persecute the good, those who hate truth, those who love falsehood, those who know not the reward of righteousness, those who cleave not to that which is good, those who attend not with just judgment to the widow and orphan, those who watch not to the fear of God, [but incline] to wickedness, from whom meekness and patience are far off; persons who love vanity, follow after a reward, pity not the needy, labour not in aid of him who is overcome with toil; who are prone to evil-speaking, who know not Him that made them, who are murderers of children, destroyers of the workmanship of God; who turn away him that is in want, who oppress the afflicted, who are advocates of the rich, who are unjust judges of the poor, and who are in every respect transgressors.

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[1] Or, "the persons of the saints." Cod. Sin. omits this clause, but it is added by a corrector.

[2] The text is here confused in all the editions; we have followed that of Dressel. Cod. Sin. is defective. Hilgenfeld's text reads, "Thou shalt seek out every day the faces of the saints, either labouring by word and going to exhort them, and meditating to save a soul by the word, or by thy hands thou shalt labour for the redemption of thy sins"—almost identical with that given above.

[3] Cod. Sin. omits this quotation from Matt. v. 42 or Luke vi. 30, but it is added by a corrector.

[4] Cod. Sin. has, "hate evil."

[5] Cod. Sin. inserts "and."

[6] Cod. Sin. omits this clause: it is inserted by a corrector.

[7] Literally, "of the Black One."

[8] Cod. Sin. joins "eternal" with *way*, instead of *death*.

CHAP. XXI.—*Conclusion.*

It is well, therefore,[3] that he who has learned the judgments of the Lord, as many as have been written, should walk in them. For he who keepeth these shall be glorified in the kingdom of God; but he who chooseth other things[4] shall be destroyed with his works. On this account there will be a resurrection,[5] on this account a retribution. I beseech you who are superiors, if you will receive any counsel of my good-will, have among yourselves those to whom you may show kindness: do not forsake them. For the day is at hand on which all things shall perish with the evil [one]. The Lord is near, and His reward. Again, and yet again, I beseech you: be good lawgivers[6] to one another; continue faithful counsellors of one another; take away from among you all hypocrisy. And may God, who ruleth over all the world, give to you wisdom, intelligence, understanding, knowledge of His judgments, [1]with patience. And be ye[2] taught of God, inquiring diligently what the Lord asks from you; and do it that ye may be safe in the day of judgment.[3] And if you have any remembrance of what is good, be mindful of me, meditating on these things, in order that both my desire and watchfulness may result in some good. I beseech you, entreating this as a favour. While yet you are in this fair vessel,[4] do not fail in any one of those things,[5] but unceasingly seek after them, and fulfil every commandment; for these things are worthy.[6] Wherefore I have been the more earnest to write to you, as my ability served, [7]that I might cheer you. Farewell, ye children of love and peace. The Lord of glory and of all grace be with your spirit. Amen.[8]

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[1] Cod. Sin. reads "transgressions."

[2] Cod. Sin. omits "magic, avarice."

[3] Cod. Sin. omits "therefore."

[4] The things condemned in the previous chapter.

[5] Cod. Sin. has "resurrections," but is corrected as above.

[6] Cod. Sin. has, "lawgivers of good things."

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[1] Cod. Sin. omits the preposition.

[2] Cod. Sin. omits this.

[3] Cod. Sin. reads, "that ye may be found in the day of judgment," which Hilgenfeld adopts.

[4] Literally, "While yet the good vessel is with you," *i.e.* as long as you are in the body.

[5] Cod. Sin. reads, "fail not in any one of yourselves," which is adopted by Hilgenfeld.

[6] Corrected in Cod. Sin. to, "it is worthy."

[7] Cod. Sin. omits this clause, but it is inserted by the corrector.

[8] Cod. Sin. omits "Amen," and adds at the close, "Epistle of Barnabas."

THE EPISTLES OF IGNATIUS.

(SHORTER AND LONGER.)

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

THE epistles ascribed to Ignatius have given rise to more controversy than any other documents connected with the primitive church. As is evident to every reader on the very first glance at these writings, they contain numerous statements which bear on points of ecclesiastical order that have long divided the Christian world; and a strong temptation has thus been felt to allow some amount of prepossession to enter into the discussion of their authenticity or spuriousness. At the same time, this question has furnished a noble field for the display of learning and acuteness, and has, in the various forms under which it has been debated, given rise to not a few works of the very highest ability and scholarship. We shall present such an outline of the controversy as may enable the reader to understand its position at the present day.

There are, in all, fifteen epistles which bear the name of Ignatius. These are the following: One to the Virgin Mary, two to the Apostle John, one to Mary of Cassobelæ, one to the Tarsians, one to the Antiochians, one to Hero, a deacon of Antioch, one to the Philippians; one to the Ephesians, one to the Magnesians, one to the Trallians, one to the Romans, one to the Philadelphians, one to the Smyrnæans, and one to Polycarp. The first three exist only in Latin: all the rest are extant also in Greek.

It is now the universal opinion of critics, that the first eight of these professedly Ignatian letters are spurious. They bear in themselves indubitable proofs of being the production of a later age than that in which Ignatius lived. Neither

Eusebius nor Jerome makes the least reference to them; and they are now by common consent set aside as forgeries, which were at various dates, and to serve special purposes, put forth under the name of the celebrated bishop of Antioch.

But after the question has been thus simplified, it still remains sufficiently complex. Of the seven epistles which are acknowledged by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* iii. 36), we possess two Greek recensions, a shorter and a longer. It is plain that one or other of these exhibits a corrupt text, and scholars have for the most part agreed to accept the shorter form as representing the genuine letters of Ignatius. This was the opinion generally acquiesced in, from the time when critical editions of these epistles began to be issued, down to our own day. Criticism, indeed, fluctuated a good deal as to which epistles should be accepted and which rejected. Archp. Usher (1644), Isaac Vossius (1646), J. B. Cotelerius (1672), Dr T. Smith (1709), and others, edited the writings ascribed to Ignatius in forms differing very considerably as to the order in which they were arranged, and the degree of authority assigned them, until at length, from about the beginning of the eighteenth century, the seven Greek epistles of which a translation is here given, came to be generally accepted in their *shorter* form as the genuine writings of Ignatius.

Before this date, however, there had not been wanting some who refused to acknowledge the authenticity of these epistles in either of the recensions in which they were then known to exist. By far the most learned and elaborate work maintaining this position was that of Daillé (or Dallæus), published in 1666. This drew forth in reply the celebrated *Vindiciæ* of Bishop Pearson, which appeared in 1672. It was generally supposed that this latter work had established on an immoveable foundation the genuineness of the shorter form of the Ignatian epistles; and, as we have stated above, this was the conclusion almost universally accepted down to our own day. The only considerable exception to this concurrence was presented by Whiston, who laboured to maintain in his *Primitive Christianity Revived* (1711) the superior claims of the longer recension of the epistles, apparently influenced in doing so by the support which he thought they furnished to the kind of Arianism which he had adopted.

But although the shorter form of the Ignatian letters had been generally accepted in preference to the longer, there was still a pretty prevalent opinion among scholars, that even it could not be regarded as absolutely free from interpolations, or as of undoubted authenticity. Thus said Lardner, in his *Credibility of the Gospel History* (1743): "I have carefully compared the two editions, and am very well satisfied, upon that comparison, that the larger are an interpolation of the smaller, and not the smaller an epitome or abridgment of the larger. . . . But whether the smaller themselves are the genuine writings of Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, is a question that has been much disputed, and has employed the pens of the ablest critics. And whatever positiveness some may have shown on either side, I must own I have found it a very difficult question."

This expression of uncertainty was repeated in substance by Jortin (1751), Mosheim (1755), Griesbach (1768), Rosenmüller (1795), Neander (1826), and many others; some going so far as to deny that we have any authentic remains of Ignatius at all, while others, though admitting the seven shorter letters as being probably his, yet strongly suspected that they were not free from interpolation. Upon the whole, however, the shorter recension was, until recently, accepted without much opposition, and chiefly in dependence on the work of Bishop Pearson above mentioned, as exhibiting the genuine form of the epistles of Ignatius.

But a totally different aspect was given to the question by the discovery of a Syriac version of three of these epistles among the MSS. procured from the monastery of St Mary Deipara, in the desert of Nitria, in Egypt. In the years 1838, 1839, and again in 1842, Archdeacon Tattam visited that monastery, and succeeded in obtaining for the English Government a vast number of ancient Syriac manuscripts. On these being deposited in the British Museum, the late Dr

Cureton, who then had charge of the Syriac department, discovered among them, first, the Epistle to Polycarp, and then again, the same epistle, with those to the Ephesians and to the Romans, in two other volumes of manuscripts.

As the result of this discovery, Cureton published in 1845 a work, entitled, *The Ancient Syriac Version of the Epistles of St Ignatius to St Polycarp, the Ephesians, and the Romans*, etc., in which he argued that these epistles represented more accurately than any formerly published what Ignatius had actually written. This, of course, opened up the controversy afresh. While some accepted the views of Cureton, others very strenuously opposed them. Among the former was the late Chev. Bunsen; among the latter, an anonymous writer in the *English Review*, and Dr Hefele, in his third edition of the *Apostolic Fathers*. In reply to those who had controverted his arguments, Cureton published his *Vindiciæ Ignatianæ* in 1846, and his *Corpus Ignatianum* in 1849. He begins his introduction to the last-named work with the following sentences: "Exactly three centuries and a half intervened between the time when three epistles in Latin, attributed to St Ignatius, first issued from the press, and the publication in 1845 of three letters in Syriac bearing the name of the same apostolic writer. Very few years passed before the former were almost universally regarded as false and spurious; and it seems not improbable that scarcely a longer period will elapse before the latter be almost as generally acknowledged and received as the only true and genuine letters of the venerable bishop of Antioch that have either come down to our times, or were ever known in the earliest ages of the Christian church."

Had the somewhat sanguine hope thus expressed been realized, it would have been unnecessary for us to present to the English reader more than a translation of these three Syriac epistles. But the Ignatian controversy is not yet settled. There are still those who hold that the balance of argument is in favour of the shorter Greek, as against these Syriac epistles. They regard the latter as an epitome of the former, and think the harshness which, according to them, exists in the sequence of thoughts and sentences, clearly shows that this is the case. We have therefore given all the forms of the Ignatian letters which have the least claim on our attention.[1] The reader may judge, by comparison for himself, which of these is to be accepted as genuine, supposing him disposed to admit the claims of any one of them. We content ourselves with laying the materials for judgment before him, and with referring to the above-named works, in which he will find the whole subject discussed.

As to the personal history of Ignatius, almost nothing is known. The principal source of information regarding him is found in the account of his martyrdom, to which the reader is referred. Polycarp alludes to him in his Epistle to the Philippians (chap. ix.), and also to his letters (chap. xiii.). Irenæus quotes a passage from his Epistle to the Romans (*Adv. Hær.* v. 28; *Epist. ad Rom.* chap. iv.), without, however, naming him. Origen twice refers to him, first in the preface to his Comm. on the Song of Solomon, where he quotes a passage from the Epistle of Ignatius to the Romans, and again in his sixth homily on St Luke, where he quotes from the Epistle to the Ephesians, both times naming the author. It is unnecessary to give later references.

Supposing the letters of Ignatius and the account of his martyrdom to be authentic, we learn from them that he voluntarily presented himself before Trajan at Antioch, the seat of his bishopric, when that prince was on his *first* expedition against the Parthians and Armenians (A.D. 107); and on professing himself a Christian, was condemned to the wild beasts. After a long and dangerous voyage he came to Smyrna, of which Polycarp was bishop, and thence wrote his four epistles to the Ephesians, the Magnesians, the Trallians, and the Romans. From Smyrna he came to Troas, and tarrying there a few days, he wrote to the Philadelphians, the Smyrnæans, and Polycarp. He then came on to Neapolis, and passed through the whole of Macedonia. Finding a ship at Dyrrachium in Epirus about to sail into Italy, he embarked, and crossing the Adriatic, was brought to Rome, where he perished on the 20th of December 107, or, as some think, who deny a twofold expedition of Trajan against the Parthians, on the same day of the year A.D. 116.

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[1] The other epistles, bearing the name of Ignatius, will be found in the Appendix; so that the English reader possesses in this volume a complete collection of the Ignatian letters.

THE EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS TO THE EPHESIANS.

Shorter.	Longer.
Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to the church which is at Ephesus, in Asia, deservedly most happy, being blessed in the greatness and fulness of God the Father, and predestinated before the beginning[1] *of time, that it should be always for an enduring and unchangeable glory, being united*[2] *and elected through the true passion by the will of the Father, and Jesus Christ, our God: Abundant happiness through Jesus Christ, and His undefiled grace.*	*Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to the church which is at Ephesus, in Asia, deservedly most happy, being blessed in the greatness and fulness of God the Father, and predestinated before the beginning*[1] *of time, that it should be always for an enduring and unchangeable glory, being united*[2] *and elected through the true passion by the will of God the Father, and of our Lord Jesus Christ our Saviour: Abundant happiness through Jesus Christ, and His undefiled joy.*[3]

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[1] Literally, "before the ages."

[2] These words may agree with "glory," but are better applied to the "church."

[3] Some read, as in the shorter recension, "grace."

CHAP. I.—*Praise of the Ephesians.*

I HAVE become acquainted with your name, much-beloved in God, which ye have acquired by the habit of righteousness, according to the faith and love in Jesus Christ our Saviour. Being the followers[1] of God, and stirring up[2] yourselves by the blood of God, ye have perfectly accomplished the work which was beseeming to you. For, on hearing that I came bound from Syria for the common name and hope, trusting through your prayers to be permitted to fight with beasts at Rome, that so by martyrdom I may indeed become the disciple of Him "who gave Himself for us, an offering and sacrifice to God,"[3] [ye hastened to see me[4]]. I received, therefore,[5] your whole multitude in the name of God,

I HAVE become acquainted with your greatly-desired name in God, which ye have acquired by the habit of righteousness, according to the faith and love in Christ Jesus our Saviour. Being the followers[1] of the love of God towards man, and stirring up[2] yourselves by the blood of Christ, you have perfectly accomplished the work which was beseeming to you. For, on hearing that I came bound from Syria for the sake of Christ, our common hope, trusting through your prayers to be permitted to fight with beasts at Rome, that so by martyrdom I may indeed become the disciple of Him "who gave Himself for us, an offering and a sacrifice to God,"[3] [ye hastened to see me[4]]. I have therefore received your whole multitude in the name of God, through

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[1] Literally, "imitators;" comp. Eph. v. 1.

[2] Comp. in the Greek, 2 Tim. i. 6.

[3] Eph. v. 2.

[4] This is wanting in the Greek.

[5] Literally, "since therefore," without any apodosis.

through Onesimus, a man of inexpressible love,[1] and your bishop in the flesh, whom I pray you by Jesus Christ to love, and that you would all seek to be like him. And blessed be He who has granted unto you, being worthy, to obtain such an excellent bishop.

Onesimus, a man of inexpressible love,[1] and who is your bishop, whom I pray you by Jesus Christ to love, and that you would all seek to be like him. Blessed be God, who has granted unto you, who are yourselves so excellent, to obtain such an excellent bishop.

Chap. ii.—*Congratulations and entreaties.*

As to my fellow-servant Burrhus, your deacon in regard to God and blessed in all things,[2] I beg that he may continue longer, both for your honour and that of your bishop. And Crocus also, worthy both of God and you, whom I have received as the manifestation[3] of your love, hath in all things refreshed[4] me, as the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ shall also refresh[4] him; together with Onesimus, and Burrhus, and Euplus,

As to our fellow-servant Burrhus, your deacon in regard to God and blessed in all things, I pray that he may continue blameless for the honour of the church, and of your most blessed bishop. Crocus also, worthy both of God and you, whom we have received as the manifestation[3] of your love to us, hath in all things refreshed[4] me, and "hath not been ashamed of my chain,"[5] as the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ will also refresh[4] him; together with Onesimus, and Burrhus, and Euplus, and Fronto, by means of whom I have, as to love, beheld all of you. May I always have joy of you, if indeed I be worthy of it. It is therefore

[1] Or, "unspeakably beloved."

[2] Or, "your most blessed deacon in all things pertaining to God."

[3] Literally, "pattern."

[4] Comp. 1 Cor. xvi. 18, etc.

[5] Comp. 2 Tim. i. 16.

and Fronto, by means of whom, I have, as to love, beheld all of you. May I always have joy of you, if indeed I be worthy of it. It is therefore befitting that you should in every way glorify Jesus Christ, who hath glorified you, that by a unanimous obedience "ye may be perfectly joined together in the same mind, and in the same judgment, and may all speak the same thing concerning the same thing,"[1] and that, being subject to the bishop and the presbytery, ye may in all respects be sanctified.

befitting that you should in every way glorify Jesus Christ, who hath glorified you, that by a unanimous obedience "ye may be perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment, and may all speak the same thing concerning the same thing,"[1] and that, being subject to the bishop and the presbytery, ye may in all respects be sanctified.

CHAP. III.—*Exhortations to unity.*

I do not issue orders to you, as if I were some great person. For though I am bound for the name [of Christ], I am not yet perfect in Jesus Christ. For now I begin to be a disciple, and I speak to you as fellow-disciples with me. For it was needful for me to have been stirred

I do not issue orders to you, as if I were some great person. For though I am bound for His name, I am not yet perfect in Jesus Christ. For now I begin to be a disciple, and I speak to you as my fellow-servants. For it was needful for me to have been admonished by you in faith, exhortation, patience, and long-suffering. But inasmuch as love suffers me not to be silent in regard to you, I have therefore up by you in faith, exhortation, patience, and long-suffering. But inasmuch as love suffers me not to be silent in regard to you, I have therefore taken[1] upon me first to exhort you that ye would all run together in accordance with the will of God. For even Jesus Christ, our inseparable life, is the [manifested] will of the Father; as also bishops, settled everywhere to the utmost bounds [of the earth], are so by the will of Jesus Christ.

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[1] 1 Cor. i. 10.

taken[1] upon me first to exhort you that ye would run together in accordance with the will of God. For even Jesus Christ does all things according to the will of the Father, as He Himself declares in a certain place, "I do always those things that please Him."[2] Wherefore it behoves us also to live according to the will of God in Christ, and to imitate Him as Paul did. For, says he, "Be ye followers of me, even as I also am of Christ."[3]

Chap. iv.—*The same continued.*

Wherefore it is fitting that ye should run together in accordance with the will of your bishop, which thing also ye do. For your justly-renowned presbytery, worthy of God, is fitted as exactly to the bishop as the strings are to the harp. Therefore in your concord and harmonious love, Jesus Christ is

Wherefore it is fitting that ye also should run together in accordance with the will of the bishop who by God's appointment[4] rules over you. Which thing ye indeed of yourselves do, being instructed by the Spirit. For your justly-renowned presbytery, being worthy of God, is fitted as exactly to the bishop as the strings are to the harp. Thus, being joined together in concord and harmonious love, of which Jesus Christ is the Captain sung. And do ye, man by man, become a choir, that being harmonious in love, and taking up the song of God in unison, ye may with one voice sing to the Father through Jesus Christ, so that He may both hear you, and perceive by your works that ye are indeed the members of His Son. It is profitable, therefore, that you should live in an unblameable unity, that thus ye may always enjoy communion with God.

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[1] Comp. Philem. 8, 9.

[2] John viii. 29.

[3] 1 Cor. xi. 1.

[4] Literally, "according to God."

and Guardian, do ye, man by man, become but one choir; so that, agreeing together in concord, and obtaining[1] a perfect unity with God, ye may indeed be one in harmonious feeling with God the Father, and His beloved Son Jesus Christ our Lord. For, says He, "Grant unto them, Holy Father, that as I and Thou are one, they also may be one in us."[2] It is therefore profitable that you, being joined together with God in an unblameable unity, should be the followers of the example of Christ, of whom also ye are members.

CHAP. V.—*The praise of unity.*

For if I, in this brief space of time, have enjoyed such fellowship with your bishop—I mean not of a mere human, but of a spiritual nature—how much more do I reckon you happy who are so joined to him as the church is to Jesus Christ, and as Jesus Christ is to the Father, that so all things may

For if I, in this brief space of time, have enjoyed such fellowship with your bishop—I mean not of a mere human, but of a spiritual nature—how much more do I reckon you happy, who so depend[3] on him as the church does on the Lord Jesus, and the Lord does on God and His Father, that so all things may agree in unity! Let no man deceive himself: if any one be not within the altar, he is deprived of the bread of God. For

[1] Literally, "receiving a union to God in oneness."

[2] John xvii. 11, 12.

[3] Some read, "mixed up with."

agree in unity! Let no man deceive himself: if any one be not within the altar, he is deprived of the bread of God. For if the prayer of one or two possesses[1] such power, how much more that of the bishop and the whole church! He, therefore, that does not assemble with the church, has even[2] by this manifested his pride, and condemned himself. For it is written, "God resisteth the proud."[6] Let us be careful, then, not to set ourselves in opposition to the bishop, in order that we may be subject to God.

if the prayer of one or two possesses[1] such power that Christ stands in the midst of them, how much more will the prayer of the bishop and of the whole church, ascending up in harmony to God, prevail for the granting of all their petitions in Christ! He, therefore, that separates himself from such, and does not meet in the society where sacrifices[3] are offered, and with "the church of the first-born whose names are written in heaven," is a wolf in sheep's clothing,[4] while he presents a mild outward appearance. Do ye, beloved, be careful to be subject to the bishop, and the presbyters and the deacons. For he that is subject to these is obedient to Christ, who has appointed them; but he that is disobedient to these is disobedient to Christ Jesus. And "he that obeyeth not[5] the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him." For he that yields not obedience to his superiors is self-confident, quarrelsome, and proud. But "God," says [the Scripture], "resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble;"[6] and, "The proud have greatly transgressed." The Lord also says to the priests, "He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that heareth me, heareth the Father that sent me. He that despiseth you, despiseth me; and he that despiseth me, despiseth Him that sent me."

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[1] Matt. xviii. 19.

[2] Or, "already."

[3] Literally, "in the assembly of sacrifices."

[4] Matt. vii. 15.

[5] Or, "believeth not" (John iii. 36).

[6] Prov. iii. 34; James iv. 6; 1 Pet. v. 5.

CHAP. VI.—*Have respect to the bishop as to Christ Himself.*

Now the more any one sees the bishop keeping silence,[1] the more ought he to revere him. For we ought to receive every one whom the Master of the house sends to be over His household,[2] as we would do Him that sent him. It is manifest, therefore, that we should look upon the bishop even as we would upon the Lord Himself. And indeed Onesimus himself greatly commends your good order in God, that ye all live according to the truth, and that no sect[4] has any dwelling-place among you. Nor, indeed, do ye hearken to any one rather than to Jesus Christ speaking in truth.

The more, therefore, you see the bishop silent, the more do you reverence him. For we ought to receive every one whom the Master of the house sends to be over His household,[2] as we would do Him that sent him. It is manifest, therefore, that we should look upon the bishop even as we would look upon the Lord Himself, standing, as he does, before the Lord. For "it behoves the man who looks carefully about him, and is active in his business, to stand before kings, and not to stand before slothful men."[3] And indeed Onesimus himself greatly commends your good order in God, that ye all live according to the truth, and that no sect[4] has any dwelling-place among you. Nor indeed do ye hearken to any one rather than to Jesus Christ, the true Shepherd and Teacher. And ye are, as Paul wrote to you, "one body and one spirit, because ye have also been called in one hope of the faith."[1] Since also "there is one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is over all, and through all, and in all."[2] Such, then, are ye, having been taught by such instructors, Paul the Christ-bearer, and Timothy the most faithful.

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[1] That is, "showing forbearance."

[2] Comp. Matt. xxiv. 25.

[3] Prov. xxii. 29, after LXX.

[4] Or, "heresy."

CHAP. VII.—*Beware of false teachers.*

For some are in the habit of carrying about the name [of Jesus Christ] in wicked guile, while yet they practise things unworthy of God, whom ye must flee as ye would wild beasts. For they are ravening dogs, who bite secretly, against whom ye must be on your guard, inasmuch as they are men who can scarcely be cured. There is one Physician who is possessed both of flesh and spirit; both made and not made; God existing in flesh; true life in death; both of Mary and of God; first passible and then impassible,—[5]even Jesus Christ our Lord.

But some most worthless persons are in the habit of carrying about the name [of Jesus Christ] in wicked guile, while yet they practise things unworthy of God, and hold opinions contrary to the doctrine of Christ, to their own destruction, and that of those who give credit to them, whom you must avoid as ye would wild beasts. For "the righteous man who avoids them is saved for ever; but the destruction of the ungodly is sudden, and a subject of rejoicing."[3] For "they are dumb dogs, that cannot bark,"[4] raving mad, and biting secretly, against whom ye must be on your guard, since they labour under an incurable disease. But our Physician is the only true God, the unbegotten and unapproachable, the Lord of all, the Father and Begetter of the only-begotten Son. We have also as a Physician the Lord our God, Jesus the Christ, the only-begotten Son and Word, before time began,[1] but who afterwards became also man, of Mary the virgin. For "the Word was made flesh."[2] Being incorporeal, He was in the body; being impassible, He was in a passible body; being immortal, He was in a mortal body; being life, He became subject to corruption, that He might free our souls from death and corruption, and heal them, and might restore them to health, when they were diseased with ungodliness and wicked lusts.

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[1] Eph. iv. 4. [2] Eph. iv. 5, 6. [3] Prov. x. 25, xi. 3. [4] Isa. lvi. 10.

[5] This clause is wanting in the Greek, and has been supplied from the ancient Latin version.

Chap. viii.—*Renewed praise of the Ephesians.*

Let not then any one deceive you, as indeed ye are not deceived, inasmuch as ye are wholly devoted to God. For since there is no strife raging among you which might distress you, ye are certainly living in accordance with God's will. I am far inferior to you, and require to be sanctified by your church of Ephesus, so renowned throughout the world. They that are carnal cannot do

Let not then any one deceive you, as indeed ye are not deceived; for ye are wholly devoted to God. For when there is no evil desire within you, which might defile and torment you, then do ye live in accordance with the will of God, and are [the servants] of Christ. Cast ye out that which defiles[3] you, who are of the[4] most holy church of the Ephesians, which is so famous and celebrated throughout the world. They that are carnal cannot do those things which are spiritual, nor they that are spiritual the things which are carnal; even as faith cannot do the works of those things which are spiritual, nor they that are spiritual the things which are carnal; even as faith cannot do the works of unbelief, nor unbelief the works of faith. But even those things which ye do according to the flesh are spiritual; for ye do all things in Jesus Christ.

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[1] Or, "before the ages."

[2] John i. 14.

[3] It is difficult to translate περίψημα in this and similar passages; comp. 1 Cor. iv. 13.

[4] Literally, "and the."

unbelief, nor unbelief the works of faith. But ye, being full of the Holy Spirit, do nothing according to the flesh, but all things according to the Spirit. Ye are complete in Christ Jesus, "who is the Saviour of all men, specially of them that believe."[1]

CHAP. IX.—*Ye have given no heed to false teachers.*

Nevertheless, I have heard of some who have passed on from this to you, having false doctrine, whom ye did not suffer to sow among you, but stopped your ears, that ye might not receive those things which were sown by them, as being stones[2] of the temple of the Father, prepared for the building of God the Father, and drawn up on high by the instrument of Jesus Christ, which is the cross,[3] making use of the Holy Spirit as a rope, while your faith

Nevertheless, I have heard of some who have passed in among you, holding the wicked doctrine of the strange and evil spirit; to whom ye did not allow entrance to sow their tares, but stopped your ears that ye might not receive that error which was proclaimed by them, as being persuaded that that spirit which deceives the people does not speak the things of Christ, but his own, for he is a lying spirit. But the Holy Spirit does not speak His own things, but those of Christ, and that not from himself, but from the Lord; even as the Lord also announced to us the things that He received from the Father. For, says He, "the word which ye hear is not mine, but the Father's, who sent me."[4]

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[1] 1 Tim. iv. 10.

[2] Comp. 1 Pet. ii. 5.

[3] Comp. John xii. 32.

[4] John xiv. 24.

was the means by which you ascended, and your love the way which led up to God. Ye, therefore, as well as all your fellow-travellers, are God-bearers, temple-bearers, Christ-bearers, bearers of holiness, adorned in all respects with the commandments of Jesus Christ, in whom also I exult that I have been thought worthy, by means of this epistle, to converse and rejoice with you, because with respect to your Christian life[4] ye love nothing but God only.

And says He of the Holy Spirit, "He shall not speak of Himself, but whatsoever things He shall hear from me."[1] And He says of Himself to the Father, "I have," says He, "glorified Thee upon the earth; I have finished the work which Thou gavest me; I have manifested Thy name to men."[2] And of the Holy Ghost, "He shall glorify me, for He receives of mine."[3] But the spirit of deceit preaches himself, and speaks his own things, for he seeks to please himself. He glorifies himself, for he is full of arrogance. He is lying, fraudulent, soothing, flattering, treacherous, rhapsodical, trifling, inharmonious, verbose, sordid, and timorous. From his power Jesus Christ will deliver you, who has founded you upon the rock, as being chosen stones, well fitted for the divine edifice of the Father, and who are raised up on high by Christ, who was crucified for you, making use of the Holy Spirit as a rope, and being borne up by faith, while exalted by love from earth to heaven, walking in company with those that are undefiled. For, says [the Scripture], "Blessed are the undefiled in the way, who walk in the law of the Lord."[5]

[1] John xvi. 13.

[2] John xvii. 4, 6.

[3] John xvi. 14.

[4] Literally, "according to the other life."

[5] Ps. cxix. 1.

Now the way is unerring, namely, Jesus Christ. For, says He, "I am the way and the life."[1] And this way leads to the Father. For "no man," says He, "cometh to the Father but by me."[2] Blessed, then, are ye who are God-bearers, spirit-bearers, temple-bearers, bearers of holiness, adorned in all respects with the commandments of Jesus Christ, being "a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people,"[3] on whose account I rejoice exceedingly, and have had the privilege, by this epistle, of conversing with "the saints which are at Ephesus, the faithful in Christ Jesus."[4] I rejoice, therefore, over you, that ye do not give heed to vanity, and love nothing according to the flesh, but according to God.

CHAP. X.—*Exhortations to prayer, humility, etc.*

And pray ye without ceasing in behalf of other men. For there is in them hope of repentance that they may attain to God. See,[6] then, that they be instructed by your works, if in no other way. Be ye meek in response

And pray ye without ceasing in behalf of other men; for there is hope of the repentance, that they may attain to God. For "cannot he that falls arise again, and he that goes astray return?"[5] Permit them, then, to be instructed by you. Be ye therefore the ministers of God, and the mouth of Christ. For thus saith the Lord, "If ye to their wrath, humble in opposition to their boasting: to their blasphemies return[2] your prayers; in contrast to their error, be ye stedfast[3] in the faith; and for their cruelty, manifest your gentleness. While we take care not to imitate their conduct, let us be found their brethren in all true kindness; and let us seek to be followers of the Lord (who ever more unjustly treated, more destitute, more contemned?), that so no plant of the devil may be found in you, but ye may remain in all holiness and sobriety in Jesus Christ, both with respect to the flesh and spirit.

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[1] John xiv. 6.

[2] John xiv. 6.

[3] 1 Pet. ii. 9.

[4] Eph. i. 1.

[5] Jer. viii. 4.

[6] Literally, "permit."

take forth the precious from the vile, ye shall be as my mouth."[1] Be ye humble in response to their wrath; oppose to their blasphemies your earnest prayers; while they go astray, stand ye stedfast in the faith. Conquer ye their harsh temper by gentleness, their passion by meekness. For "blessed are the meek;"[4] and Moses was meek above all men;[5] and David was exceeding meek.[6] Wherefore Paul exhorts as follows: "The servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle towards all men, apt to teach, patient, in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves."[7] Do not seek to avenge yourselves on those that injure you, for says [the Scripture], "If I have returned evil to those who returned evil to me."[8] Let us make them brethren by our kindness. For say ye to those that hate you, Ye are our brethren, that the name of the Lord may be glorified. And let us imitate the Lord, "who, when He was reviled, reviled not again;"[9] when He was crucified, He answered not; "when He suffered, He threatened not;"[10] but prayed for His enemies, "Father, forgive them; they know not what they do."[1] If any one, the more he is injured, displays the more patience, blessed is he. If any one is defrauded, if any one is despised, for the name of the Lord, he truly is the servant of Christ. Take heed that no plant of the devil be found among you, for such a plant is bitter and salt. "Watch ye, and be ye sober,"[2] in Christ Jesus.

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[1] Jer. xv. 19.
[2] The verb is here omitted in the original.
[3] Comp. Col. i. 23.
[4] Matt. v. 4.
[5] Num. xii. 3.
[6] Ps. cxxxi. 2.
[7] 2 Tim. ii. 24, 25.
[8] Ps. vii. 4.
[9] 1 Pet. ii. 23.
[10] 1 Pet. ii. 23.

CHAP. XI.—*An exhortation to fear God, etc.*

The last times are come upon us. Let us therefore be of a reverent spirit, and fear the long-suffering of God, that it tend not to our condemnation. For let us either stand in awe of the wrath to come, or show regard for the grace which is at present displayed—one of two things. Only [in one way or another] let us be found in Christ Jesus unto the true life. Apart from Him, let nothing attract[4] you, for whom I bear about these bonds, these spiritual jewels, by which may I arise through your prayers, of which

The last times are come upon us. Let us therefore be of a reverent spirit, and fear the long-suffering of God, lest we despise the riches of His goodness and forbearance.[3] For let us either fear the wrath to come, or let us love the present joy in the life that now is; and let our present and true joy be only this, to be found in Christ Jesus, that we may truly live. Do not at any time desire so much as even to breathe apart from Him. For He is my hope; He is my boast; He is my never-failing riches, on whose account I bear about with me these bonds from Syria to Rome, these spiritual jewels, in which may I be perfected through your prayers, and become a partaker of the sufferings of Christ, and have fellowship with Him in His death, His resur-

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[1] Luke xxiii. 34. [2] 1 Pet. iv. 7. [3] Rom. ii. 4.

[4] Literally, "let nothing become you."

I entreat I may always be a partaker, that I may be found in the lot of the Christians of Ephesus, who have always been of the same mind with the apostles through the power of Jesus Christ.

rection from the dead, and His everlasting life.[1] May I attain to this, so that I may be found in the lot of the Christians of Ephesus, who have always had intercourse with the apostles by the power of Jesus Christ, with Paul, and John, and Timothy the most faithful.

CHAP. XII.—*Praise of the Ephesians.*

I know both who I am, and to whom I write. I am a condemned man, ye have been the objects of mercy; I am subject to danger, ye are established in safety. Ye are the persons through[3] whom those pass that are cut off for the sake of God. Ye are initiated into the mysteries of the gospel with Paul, the holy, the martyred, the deservedly most happy, at whose feet[6] may I be found, when I shall attain to God; who in all his epistle[7] makes mention of you in Christ Jesus.

I know both who I am, and to whom I write. I am the very insignificant Ignatius, who have my lot with [2] those who are exposed to danger and condemnation. But ye have been the objects of mercy, and are established in Christ. I am one delivered over [to death], but the least of all those that have been cut off for the sake of Christ, "from the blood of righteous Abel"[4] to the blood of Ignatius. Ye are initiated into the mysteries of the gospel with Paul, the holy, the martyred, inasmuch as he was "a chosen vessel;"[5] at whose feet may I be found, and at the feet of the rest of the saints, when I shall attain to Jesus Christ, who is always mindful of you in His prayers.

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[1] Phil. iii. 10.

[2] Literally, "am like to."

[3] Literally, "ye are the passage of."

[4] Matt. xxiii. 35.

[5] Acts. ix. 15.

[6] Literally, "footsteps."

[7] Some render, "in every epistle."

CHAP. XIII.—*Exhortation to meet together frequently for the worship of God.*

Take heed, then, often to come together to give thanks to God, and show forth His praise. For when ye assemble frequently in the same place, the powers of Satan are destroyed, and the destruction at which he aims[2] is prevented by the unity of your faith. Nothing is more precious than peace, by which all war, both in heaven and earth,[3] is brought to an end.

Take heed, then, often to come together to give thanks to God, and show forth His praise. For when ye come frequently together in the same place, the powers of Satan are destroyed, and his "fiery darts"[1] urging to sin fall back ineffectual. For your concord and harmonious faith prove his destruction, and the torment of his assistants. Nothing is better than that peace which is according to Christ, by which all war, both of aërial and terrestrial spirits, is brought to an end. "For we wrestle not against blood and flesh, but against principalities and powers, and against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in heavenly places."[4]

CHAP. XIV.—*Exhortations to faith and love.*

None of these things is hid from you, if ye perfectly possess that faith and love towards Christ Jesus[5] which are the beginning and the end of life. For the beginning is faith, and the end is love.[6] Now these

Wherefore none of the devices of the devil shall be hidden from you, if, like Paul, ye perfectly possess that faith and love towards Christ[5] which are the beginning and the end of life. The beginning of life is faith, and the end is love. And these two being inseparably connected together, do two, being inseparably connected together,[1] are of God, while all other things which are requisite for a holy life follow after them. No man [truly] making a profession of faith sinneth;[2] nor does he that possesses love hate any one. The tree is made manifest by its fruit;[4] so those that profess themselves to be Christians shall be recognised by their conduct. For there is not now a demand for mere profession,[5] but that a man be found continuing in the power of faith to the end.

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[1] Eph. vi. 16.

[2] Literally, "his destruction."

[3] Literally, "of heavenly and earthly things."

[4] Eph. vi. 12.

[5] 1 Tim. i. 14.

[6] 1 Tim. i. 5.

perfect the man of God; while all other things which are requisite to a holy life follow after them. No man making a profession of faith ought to sin, nor one possessed of love to hate his brother. For He that said, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God,"[3] said also, "and thy neighbour as thyself."[3] Those that profess themselves to be Christ's are known not only by what they say, but by what they practise. "For the tree is known by its fruit."[4]

CHAP. XV.—*Exhortation to confess Christ by silence as well as speech.*

It is better for a man to be silent and be [a Christian], than to talk and not to be one. It is good to teach, if he who speaks also acts. There is then one Teacher, who spake and it was done; while even those things

It is better for a man to be silent and be [a Christian], than to talk and not to be one. "The kingdom of God is not in word, but in power."[6] Men "believe with the heart, and confess with the mouth," the one "unto righteousness," the other "unto salvation."[7] It is good to teach, if he who speaks also acts.

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[1] Literally, "being in unity."

[2] Comp. 1 John iii. 7.

[3] Luke x. 27.

[4] Matt. xii. 33.

[5] Literally, "there is not now the work of profession."

[6] 1 Cor. iv. 20.

[7] Rom. x. 10.

which He did in silence are worthy of the Father. He who possesses the word of Jesus, is truly able to hear even His very silence, that he may be perfect, and may both act as he speaks, and be recognised by his silence. There is nothing which is hid from God, but our very secrets are near to Him. Let us therefore do all things as those who have Him dwelling in us, that we may be His temples,[3] and He may be in us as our God, which indeed He is, and will manifest Himself before our faces. Wherefore we justly love Him.

For he who shall both "do and teach, the same shall be great in the kingdom."[1] Our Lord and God, Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God, first did and then taught, as Luke testifies, "whose praise is in the gospel through all the churches."[2] There is nothing which is hid from the Lord, but our very secrets are near to Him. Let us therefore do all things as those who have Him dwelling in us, that we may be His temples,[3] and He may be in us as God. Let Christ speak in us, even as He did in Paul. Let the Holy Spirit teach us to speak the things of Christ in like manner as He did.

CHAP. XVI.—*The fate of false teachers.*

Do not err, my brethren.[4] Those that corrupt families shall not inherit the kingdom of God.[5] If, then, those who do this as respects the flesh have suffered death, how much more shall this be the case with any one who cor-

Do not err, my brethren.[4] Those that corrupt families shall not inherit the kingdom of God.[5] And if those that corrupt mere human families are condemned to death, how much more shall those suffer everlasting punishment who endeavour to corrupt the church of Christ, for which the Lord Jesus, the only-begotten Son of God,

[1] Matt. v. 19.

[2] 2 Cor. viii. 18.

[3] 1 Cor. vi. 19.

[4] Comp. James i. 16.

[5] 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10.

rupts by wicked doctrine the faith of God, for which Jesus Christ was crucified! Such an one becoming defiled [in this way], shall go away into everlasting fire, and so shall every one that hearkens unto him.

endured the cross, and submitted to death! Whosoever, "being waxen fat,"[1] and "become gross," sets at nought His doctrine, shall go into hell. In like manner, every one that has received from God the power of distinguishing, and yet follows an unskilful shepherd, and receives a false opinion for the truth, shall be punished. "What communion hath light with darkness? or Christ with Belial? Or what portion hath he that believeth with an infidel? or the temple of God with idols?"[2] And in like manner say I, what communion hath truth with falsehood? or righteousness with unrighteousness? or true doctrine with that which is false?

CHAP. XVII.—*Beware of false doctrines.*

For this end did the Lord suffer the ointment to be poured upon His head,[3] that He might breathe immortality into His church. Be not ye anointed with the bad odour of the doctrine of the prince of this world; let him not lead you away captive from the life which is set before you. And

For this end did the Lord suffer the ointment to be poured upon His head,[3] that His church might breathe forth immortality. For saith [the Scripture], "Thy name is as ointment poured forth; therefore have the virgins loved Thee: they have drawn Thee; at the odour of Thine ointments we will run after Thee."[4] Let no one be anointed with the bad odour of the doctrine of [the prince of] this world; let not the holy church of why are we not all prudent, since we have received the knowledge of God, which is Jesus Christ? Why do we foolishly perish, not recognising the gift which the Lord has of a truth sent to us?

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[1] Deut. xxxii. 15.

[2] 2 Cor. vi. 14–16.

[3] Comp. John xii. 7.

[4] Song of Sol. i. 3, 4.

God be led captive by his subtlety, as was the first woman.[1] Why do we not, as gifted with reason, act wisely? When we had received from Christ, and had grafted in us the faculty of judging concerning God, why do we fall headlong into ignorance? and why, through a careless neglect of acknowledging the gift which we have received, do we foolishly perish?

CHAP. XVIII.—*The glory of the cross.*

Let my spirit be counted as nothing[2] for the sake of the cross, which is a stumbling-block[3] to those that do not believe, but to us salvation and life eternal. "Where is the wise man? where the disputer?"[4] Where is the boasting of those who are styled prudent? For our God, Jesus Christ, was, according to the appointment[6] of God, conceived in the womb by Mary, of the seed of David, but by

The cross of Christ is indeed a stumbling-block to those that do not believe, but to the believing it is salvation and life eternal. "Where is the wise man? where the disputer?"[4] Where is the boasting of those who are called mighty? For the Son of God, who was begotten before time began,[5] and established all things according to the will of the Father, He was conceived in the womb of Mary, according to the appointment of God, of the seed of David, and by the Holy Ghost. For says [the Scripture], "Behold, a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son, and He the Holy Ghost. He was born and baptized, that by His passion He might purify the water.

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[1] Literally, "before the ages."

[2] Again περίψημα, translated "offscouring," 1 Cor. iv. 13.

[3] Comp. 1 Cor. i. 18.

[4] 1 Cor. i. 20.

[5] Literally, "before the ages."

[6] Or "economy," or "dispensation." Comp. Col. i. 25; 1 Tim. i. 4.

shall be called Immanuel."[1] He was born and was baptized by John, that He might ratify the institution committed to that prophet.

Chap. xix.—*Three celebrated mysteries.*

Now the virginity of Mary was hidden from the prince of this world, as was also her offspring, and the death of the Lord; three mysteries of renown,[2] which were wrought in silence by[3] God. How, then, was He manifested to the world?[4] A star shone forth in heaven above all the other stars, the light of which was inexpressible, while its novelty struck men with astonishment. And all the rest of the stars, with the sun and moon, formed a chorus to this star, and its light was exceedingly great above them all. And there was agitation felt as to whence this new spectacle came, so unlike to everything else [in the heavens]. Hence every

Now the virginity of Mary was hidden from the prince of this world, as was also her offspring, and the death of the Lord; three mysteries of renown,[2] which were wrought in silence, but have been revealed to us. A star shone forth in heaven above all that were before it, and its light was inexpressible, while its novelty struck men with astonishment. And all the rest of the stars, with the sun and moon, formed a chorus to this star. It far exceeded them all in brightness, and agitation was felt as to whence this new spectacle [proceeded]. Hence worldly wisdom became folly; conjuration was seen to be mere trifling; and magic became utterly ridiculous. Every law[5] of wickedness vanished away; the darkness of ignorance was dispersed; and tyrannical authority was destroyed, God being manifested as a man, and man displaying power as God. But neither was the former a mere imagination,[6] nor did the second kind of magic was destroyed, and every bond of wickedness disappeared; ignorance was removed, and the old kingdom abolished, God Himself being manifested in human form for the renewal of eternal life. And now that took a beginning which had been prepared by God. Henceforth all things were in a state of tumult, because He meditated the abolition of death.

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[1] Isa. vii. 14; Matt. i. 23.

[2] Literally, "of noise."

[3] Or, "in the silence of God"—divine silence.

[4] Literally, "to the ages."

[5] Some read, "bond."

[6] Literally, "opinion."

CHAP. XX.—*Promise of another letter.*

If Jesus Christ shall graciously permit me through your prayers, and if it be His will, I shall, in a second little work which I will write to you, make further manifest to you [the nature of] the dispensation of which I have begun [to treat], with respect to the new man, Jesus Christ, in His faith and in His love,

imply a bare humanity;[1] but the one was absolutely true,[2] and the other an economical arrangement.[3] Now that received a beginning which was perfected by God.[4] Henceforth all things were in a state of tumult, because He meditated the abolition of death.

CHAP. XX.—*Exhortations to stedfastness and unity.*

Stand fast, brethren, in the faith of Jesus Christ, and in His love, in His passion, and in his resurrection. Do ye all come together in in His suffering and in His resurrection. Especially [will I do this[1]] if the Lord make known to me that ye come together man by man in common through grace, individually,[2] in one faith, and in Jesus Christ, who was of the seed of David according to the flesh, being both the Son of man and the Son of God, so that ye obey the bishop and the presbytery with an undivided mind, breaking one and the same bread, which is the medicine of immortality, and the antidote to prevent us from dying, but [which causes] that we should live for ever in Jesus Christ.

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[1] Literally, "bareness."

[2] Literally, "truth."

[3] Literally, "an economy."

[4] Or, "that which was perfect received a beginning from God."

common, and individually,[2] through grace, in one faith of God the Father, and of Jesus Christ His only-begotten Son, and "the first-born of every creature,"[3] but of the seed of David according to the flesh, being under the guidance of the Comforter, in obedience to the bishop and the presbytery with an undivided mind, breaking one and the same bread, which is the medicine of immortality, and the antidote which prevents us from dying, but a cleansing remedy driving away evil, [which causes] that we should live in God through Jesus Christ.

CHAP. XXI.—*Conclusion.*

My soul be for yours and theirs[4] whom, for the honour of God, ye have sent to Smyrna; whence also I write to

My soul be for yours and theirs[4] whom, for the honour of God, ye have sent to Smyrna; whence also I write to you, giving thanks to the Lord, and loving Polycarp even as you, giving thanks unto the Lord, and loving Polycarp even as I do you. Remember me, as Jesus Christ also remembered you. Pray ye for the church which is in Syria, whence I am led bound to Rome, being the last of the faithful who are there, even as I have been thought worthy to be chosen[2] to show forth the honour of God. Farewell in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ, our common hope.

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[1] The punctuation and meaning are here doubtful.

[2] Literally, "by name."

[3] Col. i. 15.

[4] Some render, "May I, in my turn, be the means of refreshing you and those," etc.

I do you. Remember me, as Jesus Christ also remembers you, who is blessed for evermore. Pray ye for the church of Antioch which is in Syria, whence I am led bound to Rome, being the last of the faithful that are there, who[1] yet have been thought worthy to carry these chains to the honour of God. Fare ye well in God the Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ, our common hope, and in the Holy Ghost. Fare ye well. Amen. Grace [be with you].[3]

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[1] Some read, "even as."

[2] Literally, "to be found for."

[3] Some omit, "Grace [be with you]."

THE EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS TO THE MAGNESIANS.

Shorter.	Longer.
Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to the [church] blessed in the grace of God the Father, in Jesus Christ our Saviour, in whom I salute the church which is at Magnesia, near the Mæander, and wish it abundance of happiness in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ.	*Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to the ⌊church⌋ blessed in the grace of God the Father, in Jesus Christ our Saviour, in whom I salute the church which is at Magnesia, near the Mæander, and wish it abundance of happiness in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ, our Lord, in whom may you have abundance of happiness.*

Chap. i.—*Reason of writing the epistle.*

Having been informed of your godly[1] love, so well-ordered, I rejoiced greatly, and determined to commune with you in the faith of Jesus Christ. For as one who has been thought worthy	Having been informed of your godly[1] love, so well-ordered, I rejoiced greatly, and determined to commune with you in the faith of Jesus Christ. For as one who has been thought worthy of a divine and desirable name, in those bonds which I bear about, I commend the

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[1] Literally, "according to God."

of the most honourable of all names,[1] in those bonds which I bear about, I commend the churches, in which I pray for a union both of the flesh and spirit of Jesus Christ, the constant source of our life, and of faith and love, to which nothing is to be preferred, but especially of Jesus and the Father, in whom, if we endure all the assaults of the prince of this world, and escape them, we shall enjoy God.

churches, in which I pray for a union both of the flesh and spirit of Jesus Christ, "who is the Saviour of all men, but specially of them that believe;"[2] by whose blood ye were redeemed; by whom ye have known God, or rather have been known by Him;[3] in whom enduring, ye shall escape all the assaults of this world: for "He is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that which ye are able."[4]

Chap. II.—*I rejoice in your messengers.*

Since, then, I have had the privilege of seeing you, through Damas your most worthy bishop, and through your worthy presbyters Bassus and Apollonius, and through my fellow-servant the deacon Sotio, whose friendship may I ever enjoy, inasmuch as

Since, then, I have had the privilege of seeing you, through Damas your most worthy[5] bishop, and through your worthy[5] presbyters Bassus and Apollonius, and through my fellow-servant the deacon Sotio, whose friendship may I ever enjoy,[6] inasmuch as he, by the grace of God, is subject to the bishop and presbytery, in the law he is subject to the bishop as to the grace of God, and to the presbytery as to the law of Jesus Christ, [I now write[1] to you].

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[1] Literally, "of the most God-becoming name," referring either to the appellation "Theophorus," or to that of "martyr" or "confessor."

[2] 1 Tim. iv. 10.

[3] Comp. Gal. iv. 9.

[4] 1 Cor. x. 13.

[5] Literally, "worthy of God."

[6] Literally, "whom may I enjoy."

of Jesus Christ, [I now write[1] to you].

CHAP. III.—*Honour your youthful bishop.*

Now it becomes you also not to treat your bishop too familiarly on account of his youth,[2] but to yield him all reverence, having respect to[3] the power of God the Father, as I have known even holy presbyters do, not judging rashly, from the manifest youthful appearance[4] [of their bishop], but as being themselves prudent in God, submitting to him, or rather not to him, but to the Father of Jesus Christ, the bishop of us all. It is therefore fitting that you should, after no hypocritical fashion, obey

Now it becomes you also not to despise the age of your bishop, but to yield him all reverence, according to the will of God the Father, as I have known even holy presbyters do, not having regard to the manifest youth [of their bishop], but to his knowledge in God; inasmuch as "not the ancient are [necessarily] wise, nor do the aged understand prudence; but there is a spirit in men."[5] For Daniel the wise, at twelve years of age, became possessed of the divine Spirit, and convicted the elders, who in vain carried their grey hairs, of being false accusers, and of lusting after the beauty of another man's wife.[6] Samuel also, when he was but a little child, reproved Eli, who was ninety years old, for giving honour to his sons rather than to God.[7] In like manner, Jeremiah

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[1] The apodosis is here wanting in the original, but must evidently be supplied in some such way as above.

[2] Literally, "to use the age of your bishop."

[3] Literally, "according to."

[4] Literally, "youthful condition."

[5] Job xxxii. 8, 9.

[6] Dan. xiii. (Apoc.).

[7] 1 Sam. iii. 1.

[your bishop], in honour of Him who has willed us [so to do], since he that does not so deceives not [by such conduct] the bishop that is visible, but seeks to

also received this message from God, "Say not, I am a child."[1] Solomon too, and Josiah, [exemplified the same thing.] The former, being made king at twelve years of age, gave that terrible and difficult judgment in the case of the two women concerning their children.[2] The latter, coming to the throne when eight years old,[3] cast down the altars and temples [of the idols], and burned down the groves, for they were dedicated to demons, and not to God. And he slew the false priests, as the corrupters and deceivers of men, and not the worshippers of the Deity. Wherefore youth is not to be despised when it is devoted to God. But he is to be despised who is of a wicked mind, although he be old, and full of wicked days.[4] Timothy the Christ-bearer was young, but hear what his teacher writes to him: "Let no man despise thy youth, but be thou an example of the believers in word and in conduct."[5] It is becoming, therefore, that ye also should be obedient to your bishop, and contradict him in nothing; for it is a fearful thing to contradict any such person. For no one does [by such conduct] deceive him that is visible, but does [in reality] mock Him that is invisible. And all such conduct has reference not to man,[1] but to God, who knows all secrets.

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[1] Jer. i. 7.

[2] 1 Kings iii. 16.

[3] 2 Kings xxii. xxiii.

[4] Dan. xiii. 52 (Apoc.).

[5] 1 Tim. iv. 12.

seek to mock Him that is invisible, who, however, cannot be mocked by any one. And every such act has respect not to man, but to God. For God says to Samuel, "They have not mocked thee, but me."[2] And Moses declares, "For their murmuring is not against us, but against the Lord God."[3] No one of those has, [in fact,] remained unpunished, who rose up against their superiors. For Dathan and Abiram did not speak against the law, but against Moses,[4] and were cast down alive into Hades. Korah also,[5] and the two hundred and fifty who conspired with him against Aaron, were destroyed by fire. Absalom, again,[6] who had slain his brother, became suspended on a tree, and had his evil-designing heart thrust through with darts. In like manner was Abeddadan[7] beheaded for the same reason. Uzziah,[8] when he presumed to oppose the priests and the priesthood, was smitten with leprosy. Saul also was dishonoured,[9] because he did not wait for Samuel the high priest. It behoves you, therefore, also to reverence your superiors.

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[1] Literally, "to flesh."

[2] 1 Sam. viii. 7.

[3] Ex. xvi. 8.

[4] Num. xvi. 1.

[5] Num. xvi. 31.

[6] 2 Sam. xviii. 14.

[7] Sheba is referred to under this name: see 2 Sam. xx. 22.

[8] 2 Chron. xxvi. 20.

[9] 1 Sam. xiii. 11.

CHAP. IV.—*Some wickedly act independently of the bishop.*

It is fitting, then, not only to be called Christians, but to be so in reality: as some indeed give one the title of bishop, but do all things without him. Now such persons seem to me to be not possessed of a good conscience, seeing they are not stedfastly gathered together according to the commandment.

It is fitting, then, not only to be called Christians, but to be so in reality. For it is not the being called so, but the being really so, that renders a man blessed. To those who indeed talk of the bishop, but do all things without him, will He who is the true and first Bishop, and the only High Priest by nature, declare, "Why call ye me Lord, Lord, and do not the things which I say?"[1] For such persons seem to me not possessed of a good conscience, but to be simply dissemblers and hypocrites.

CHAP. V.—*Death is the fate of all such.*

Seeing, then, all things have an end, these two things are simultaneously set before us—death and life; and every one shall go unto his own place. For as there are two kinds of coins, the one of God, the other of the world, and each of these has its special character stamped upon it, [so is it also here.][2] The unbelieving are of this

Seeing, then, all things have an end, and there is set before us life upon our observance [of God's precepts], but death as the result of disobedience, and every one, according to the choice he makes, shall go to his own place, let us flee from death, and make choice of life. For I remark, that two different characters are found among men—the one true coin, the other spurious. The truly devout man is the right kind of coin, stamped by God Himself. The ungodly man, again, is false coin, unlawful, world; but the believing have, in love, the character of God the Father by Jesus Christ, by whom, if we are not in readiness to die into His passion,[1] His life is not in us.

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[1] Luke vi. 46.

[2] The apodosis is wanting in the original, and some prefer finding it in the following sentence.

spurious, counterfeit, wrought not by God, but by the devil. I do not mean to say that there are two different human natures, but that there is one humanity, sometimes belonging to God, and sometimes to the devil. If any one is truly religious, he is a man of God; but if he is irreligious, he is a man of the devil, made such, not by nature, but by his own choice. The unbelieving bear the image of the prince of wickedness. The believing possess the image of their Prince, God the Father, and Jesus Christ, through whom, if we are not in readiness to die for the truth into His passion,[1] His life is not in us.

Chap. vi.—*Preserve harmony.*

Since therefore I have, in the persons before mentioned, beheld the whole multitude of you in faith and love, I exhort you to study to do all things with a divine harmony,[2] while your bishop presides in the place of God, and your presbyters in the place of the assembly of the apostles, along with your deacons, who are most dear to

Since therefore I have, in the persons before mentioned, beheld the whole multitude of you in faith and love, I exhort you to study to do all things with a divine harmony,[2] while your bishop presides in the place of God, and your presbyters in the place of the assembly of the apostles, along with your deacons, who are most dear to me, and are entrusted with the ministry of Jesus Christ. He, being begotten by the Father me, and are entrusted with the ministry of Jesus Christ, who was with the Father before the beginning of time,[1] and in the end was revealed. Do ye all then, imitating the same divine conduct,[3] pay respect to one another, and let no one look upon his neighbour after the flesh, but do ye continually love each other in Jesus Christ. Let nothing exist among you that may divide you; but be ye united with your bishop, and those that preside over you, as a type and evidence of your immortality.[4]

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[1] Or, "after the likeness of His passion."

[2] Literally, "in harmony of God."

before the beginning of time,[1] was God the Word, the only-begotten Son, and remains the same for ever; for "of His kingdom there shall be no end,"[2] says Daniel the prophet. Let us all therefore love one another in harmony, and let no one look upon his neighbour according to the flesh, but in Christ Jesus. Let nothing exist among you which may divide you; but be ye united with your bishop, being through him subject to God in Christ.

CHAP. VII.—*Do nothing without the bishop and presbyters.*

As therefore the Lord did nothing without the Father, being united to Him, neither by Himself nor by the apostles, so neither do ye anything without the bishop and presbyters. Neither

As therefore the Lord does nothing without the Father, for says He, "I can of mine own self do nothing,"[5] so do ye, neither presbyter, nor deacon, nor layman, do anything without the bishop. Nor let anything appear commendable to you which is destitute of endeavour that anything appear reasonable and proper to yourselves apart; but being come together into the same place, let there be one prayer, one supplication, one mind, one hope, in love and in joy undefiled. There is one Jesus Christ, than whom nothing is more excellent. Do ye therefore all run together as into one temple of God, as to one altar, as to one Jesus Christ, who came forth from one Father, and is with and has gone to one.

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[1] Literally, "before the ages."

[2] Dan. ii. 44, vii. 14, 27.

[3] Literally, "receiving the like manners of God."

[4] The meaning is here doubtful.

[5] John v. 30.

his approval.[1] For every such thing is sinful, and opposed [to the will of] God. Do ye all come together into the same place for prayer. Let there be one common supplication, one mind, one hope, with faith unblameable in Christ Jesus, than which nothing is more excellent. Do ye all, as one man, run together into the temple of God, as unto one altar, to one Jesus Christ, the High Priest of the unbegotten God.

CHAP. VIII.—*Caution against false doctrines.*

Be not deceived with strange doctrines, nor with old fables, which are unprofitable. For if we still live according to the Jewish law, we acknowledge that we have not received grace. For the divinest prophets lived according to Christ Jesus. On this account also they were persecuted, being inspired by His grace to

Be not deceived with strange doctrines, "nor give heed to fables and endless genealogies,"[2] and things in which the Jews make their boast. "Old things are passed away: behold, all things have become new."[3] For if we still live according to the Jewish law, and the circumcision of the flesh, we deny that we have received grace. For the divinest prophets lived according to Jesus Christ. On this account also they were persecuted, being inspired by

[1] Or, "contrary to his judgment."

[2] 1 Tim. i. 4.

[3] 2 Cor. v. 17.

fully convince the unbelieving that there is one God, who has manifested Himself by Jesus Christ His Son, who is His eternal Word, not proceeding forth from silence,[1] and who in all things pleased Him that sent Him.

grace to fully convince the unbelieving that there is one God, the Almighty, who has manifested Himself by Jesus Christ His Son, who is His Word, not spoken, but essential. For He is not the voice of an articulate utterance, but a substance begotten by divine power, who has in all things pleased Him that sent Him.[2]

CHAP. IX.—*Let us live with Christ.*

If, therefore, those who were brought up in the ancient order of things[3] have come to the possession of a new[4] hope, no longer observing the Sabbath, but living in the observance[6] of the Lord's day, on which also our life has sprung up again by Him and by His death — whom some deny, by which mystery we have obtained faith,[8] and therefore endure, that we may be found

If, then, those who were conversant with the ancient Scriptures came to newness of hope, expecting the coming of Christ, as the Lord teaches us when He says, "If ye had believed Moses, ye would have believed me, for he wrote of me;"[5] and again, "Your father Abraham rejoiced to see my day, and he saw it, and was glad; for before Abraham was, I am;"[7] how shall we be able to live without Him? The prophets were His servants, and foresaw Him by the Spirit, and waited for Him as their Teacher, and expected Him as their Lord and the disciples of Jesus Christ, our only Master—how shall we be able to live apart from Him, whose disciples the prophets themselves in the Spirit did wait for Him as their Teacher? And therefore He whom they rightly waited for, being come, raised them from the dead.[4]

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[1] Some have argued that the Gnostic Σιγή, *silence*, is here referred to, and have consequently inferred that this epistle could not have been written by Ignatius.

[2] Some read ὑποστήσαντι, "that gave Him His *hypostasis*, or substance."

[3] Literally, "in old things."

[4] Or, "newness of."

[5] John v. 46.

[6] Or, "according to."

[7] John viii. 56, 58.

[8] Literally, "we have received to believe."

Saviour, saying, "He will come and save us."[1] Let us therefore no longer keep the Sabbath after the Jewish manner, and rejoice in days of idleness; for "he that does not work, let him not eat."[2] For say the [holy] oracles, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread."[3] But let every one of you keep the Sabbath after a spiritual manner, rejoicing in meditation on the law, not in relaxation of the body, admiring the workmanship of God, and not eating things prepared the day before, nor using lukewarm drinks, and walking within a prescribed space, nor finding delight in dancing and plaudits which have no sense in them.[5] And after the observance of the Sabbath, let every friend of Christ keep the Lord's day as a festival, the resurrection-day, the queen and chief of all the days [of the week]. Looking forward to this, the prophet declared, "To the end, for the eighth day,"[6] on which our life both sprang up again, and the victory over death was obtained in Christ, whom the children of perdition, the enemies of the Saviour, deny, "whose god is their belly, who mind earthly things,"[1] who are "lovers of pleasure, and not lovers of God, having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof."[2] These make merchandise of Christ, corrupting His word, and giving up Jesus to sale: they are corrupters of women, and covetous of other men's possessions, swallowing up wealth[3] insatiably; from whom may ye be delivered by the mercy of God through our Lord Jesus Christ!

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[1] Isa. xxxv. 4.

[2] 2 Thess. iii. 10.

[3] Gen. iii. 19.

[4] Comp. Matt. xxvii. 52.

[5] Reference is here made to well-known Jewish opinions and practices with respect to the Sabbath. The Talmud fixes 2000 cubits as the space lawful to be traversed. Philo (*De Therap.*) refers to the dancing, etc.

[6] Ps. vi. xii. (inscrip.).

CHAP. X.—*Beware of Judaizing.*

Let us not, therefore, be insensible to His kindness. For were He to reward us according to our works, we should cease to be. Therefore, having become His disciples, let us learn to live according to the principles of Christianity.[5] For whosoever is called by any other name besides this, is not of God. Lay aside, therefore, the evil, the old, the sour leaven,

Let us not, therefore, be insensible to His kindness. For were He to reward us according to our works, we should cease to be. For "if Thou, Lord, shalt mark iniquities, O Lord, who shall stand?"[4] Let us therefore prove ourselves worthy of that name which we have received. For whosoever is called by any other name besides this, he is not of God; for he has not received the prophecy which speaks thus concerning us: "The people shall be called by a new name, which the Lord shall name them, and shall be a holy people."[6]

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[1] Phil. iii. 18, 19.

[2] 2 Tim. iii. 4.

[3] Literally, "whirlpools of wealth."

[4] Ps. cxxx. 3.

[5] Literally, "according to Christianity."

[6] Isa. lxii. 2, 12.

and be ye changed into the new leaven, which is Jesus Christ. Be ye salted in Him, lest any one among you should be corrupted, since by your savour ye shall be convicted. It is absurd to profess[4] Christ Jesus, and to Judaize. For Christianity did not embrace[5] Judaism, but Judaism Christianity, that so every tongue which believeth might be gathered together to God.

This was first fulfilled in Syria; for "the disciples were called Christians at Antioch,"[1] when Paul and Peter were laying the foundations of the church. Lay aside, therefore, the evil, the old, the corrupt leaven,[2] and be ye changed into the new leaven of grace. Abide in Christ, that the stranger[3] may not have dominion over you. It is absurd to speak of Jesus Christ with the tongue, and to cherish in the mind a Judaism which has now come to an end. For where there is Christianity there cannot be Judaism. For Christ is one, in whom every nation that believes, and every tongue that confesses, is gathered unto God. And those that were of a stony heart have become the children of Abraham, the friend of God;[6] and in his seed all those have been blessed[7] who were ordained to eternal life[8] in Christ.

Chap. XI.—*I write these things to warn you.*

These things [I address to you], my beloved, not that I know any of

These things [I address to you], my beloved, not that I know any of you to be in such a state;[9] but, you to be in such a state;[1] but, as less than any of you, I desire to guard you beforehand, that ye fall not upon the hooks of vain doctrine, but that ye attain to full assurance in regard to the birth, and passion, and resurrection which took place in the time of the government of Pontius Pilate, being truly and certainly accomplished by Jesus Christ, who is our hope,[2] from which may no one of you ever be turned aside.

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[1] Acts xi. 26.

[2] 1 Cor. v. 7.

[3] Or, "enemy."

[4] Some read, "to name."

[5] Literally, "believe into," merge into.

[6] Matt. iii. 9; Isa. xli. 8; James ii. 23. Some read, "children of God, friends of Abraham."

[7] Gen. xxviii. 14.

[8] Acts xiii. 48.

[9] *i.e.* addicted to the error of Judaizing.

as less than any of you, I desire to guard you beforehand, that ye fall not upon the hooks of vain doctrine, but that you may rather attain to a full assurance in Christ, who was begotten by the Father before all ages, but was afterwards born of the Virgin Mary without any intercourse with man. He also lived a holy life, and healed every kind of sickness and disease among the people, and wrought signs and wonders for the benefit of men; and to those who had fallen into the error of polytheism He made known the one and only true God, His Father, and underwent the passion, and endured the cross at the hands of the Christ-killing Jews, under Pontius Pilate the governor and Herod the king. He also died, and rose again, and ascended into the heavens to Him that sent Him, and is sat down at His right hand, and shall come at the end of the world, with His Father's glory, to judge the living and the dead, and to render to every one according to his works.[3] He who knows these things with a full assurance, and believes them, is happy; even as ye are now the lovers of God and of Christ, in the full assurance of our hope, from which may no one of us[4] ever be turned aside!

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[1] *i.e.* addicted to the error of Judaizing.

[2] 1 Tim. i. 1.

[3] 2 Tim. iv. 1; Rom. ii. 6.

[4] Some read, "of you."

CHAP. XII.—*Ye are superior to me.*

May I enjoy you in all respects, if indeed I be worthy! For though I am bound, I am not worthy to be compared to any of you that are at liberty. I know that ye are not puffed up, for ye have Jesus Christ in yourselves. And all the more when I commend you, I know that ye cherish modesty[1] of spirit; as it is written, "The righteous man is his own accuser."[2]

May I enjoy you in all respects, if indeed I be worthy! For though I am bound, I am not worthy to be compared to one of you that are at liberty. I know that ye are not puffed up, for ye have Jesus in yourselves. And all the more when I commend you, I know that ye cherish modesty[1] of spirit; as it is written, "The righteous man is his own accuser;"[2] and again, "Declare thou first thine iniquities, that thou mayest be justified;"[3] and again, "When ye shall have done all things that are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants;"[4] "for that which is highly esteemed among men is abomination in the sight of God."[5] For says [the Scripture], "God be merciful to me a sinner."[6] Therefore those great ones, Abraham and Job,[7] styled themselves "dust and ashes"[8] before God. And David says, "Who am I before Thee, O Lord, that Thou hast glorified me hitherto?"[9] And Moses, who was "the meekest of all men,"[10] saith to God, "I am of a feeble voice, and of a slow tongue."[11] Be ye therefore also of a humble spirit, that ye may be exalted; for "he that abaseth himself shall be exalted, and he that exalteth himself shall be abased."[1]

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[1] Literally, "are reverent."

[2] Prov. xviii. 17 (LXX.).

[3] Isa. xliii. 26.

[4] Luke xvii. 10.

[5] Luke xvi. 15.

[6] Luke xviii. 13.

[7] Some read, "Jacob."

[8] Gen. xviii. 27; Job xxx. 19.

[9] 1 Chron. xvii. 16.

[10] Num. xii. 3.

[11] Ex. iv. 10.

Chap. xiii.—*Be established in faith and unity.*

Study, therefore, to be established in the doctrines of the Lord and the apostles, that so all things, whatsoever ye do, may prosper both in the flesh and spirit; in faith and love; in the Son, and in the Father, and in the Spirit; in the beginning and in the end; with your most admirable bishop, and the well-compacted spiritual crown of your presbytery, and the deacons who are according to God. Be ye subject to the bishop, and to one another, as Jesus Christ to the Father, according to the flesh, and the apostles to Christ, and to the Father, and to the Spirit; that so there may be a union both fleshly and spiritual.

Study, therefore, to be established in the doctrines of the Lord and the apostles, that so all things, whatsoever ye do, may prosper, both in the flesh and spirit, in faith and love, with your most admirable bishop, and the well-compacted[2] spiritual crown of your presbytery, and the deacons who are according to God. Be ye subject to the bishop, and to one another, as Christ to the Father, that there may be a unity according to God among you.

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[1] Luke xiv. 11.

[2] Literally, "well-woven."

CHAP. XIV.—*Your prayers requested.*

Knowing as I do that ye are full of God, I have but briefly exhorted you. Be mindful of me in your prayers, that I may attain to God; and of the church which is in Syria, whence I am not worthy to derive my name: for I stand in need of your united prayer in God, and your love, that the church which is in Syria may be deemed worthy of being refreshed[2] by your church.

Knowing as I do that ye are full of all good, I have but briefly exhorted you in the love of Jesus Christ. Be mindful of me in your prayers, that I may attain to God; and of the church which is in Syria, of whom I am not worthy to be called bishop. For I stand in need of your united prayer in God, and of your love, that the church which is in Syria may be deemed worthy, by your good order, of being edified[1] in Christ.

CHAP. XV.—*Salutations.*

The Ephesians from Smyrna (whence I also write to you), who are here for the glory of God, as ye also are, who have in all things refreshed me, salute you, along with Polycarp, the bishop of the Smyrnæans. The rest of the churches, in honour of Jesus Christ, also salute you. Fare ye well in

The Ephesians from Smyrna (whence I also write to you), who are here for the glory of God, as ye also are, who have in all things refreshed me, salute you, as does also Polycarp. The rest of the churches, in honour of Jesus

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[1] Literally, "of being fed as by a shepherd."

[2] Literally, "of being sprinkled with dew."

the harmony of God, ye who have obtained the inseparable Spirit, who is Jesus Christ.	Christ, also salute you. Fare ye well in harmony, ye who have obtained the inseparable Spirit, in Christ Jesus, by the will of God.

THE EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS TO THE TRALLIANS.

Shorter.	Longer.
Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to the holy church which is at Tralles, in Asia, beloved of God, the Father of Jesus Christ, elect, and worthy of God, possessing peace through the flesh, and blood, and passion of Jesus Christ, who is our hope, through our rising again to Him,[1] *which also I salute in its fulness,*[2] *and in the apostolical character,*[3] *and wish abundance of happiness.*	*Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to the holy church which is at Tralles, beloved by God the Father, and Jesus Christ, elect, and worthy of God, possessing peace through the flesh and Spirit of Jesus Christ, who is our hope, in His passion by the cross and death, and in His resurrection, which also I salute in its fulness,*[2] *and in the apostolical character,*[3] *and wish abundance of happiness.*

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[1] Some render, "in the resurrection which is by Him."

[2] Either, "the whole members of the church," or, "in the fulness of blessing."

[3] Either, "as an apostle," or, "in the apostolic form."

CHAP. I.—*Acknowledgment of their excellence.*

I know that ye possess an unblameable and sincere mind in patience, and that not only in present practice,[2] but according to inherent nature, as Polybius your bishop has shown me, who has come to Smyrna by the will of God and Jesus Christ, and so sympathized in the joy which I who am bound in Christ Jesus possess, that I beheld your whole multitude in him. Having therefore received through him the testimony of your good-will, according to God, I gloried to find you, as I knew you were, the followers of God.

I know that ye possess an unblameable and sincere mind in patience, and that not only for present use,[1] but as a permanent possession, as Polybius your bishop has shown me, who has come to Smyrna by the will of God the Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ, His Son, with the co-operation of the Spirit, and so sympathized in the joy which I, who am bound in Christ Jesus, possess, that I beheld your whole multitude in Him. Having therefore received through him the testimony of your good-will according to God, I gloried to find that you were the followers of Jesus Christ the Saviour.

CHAP. II.—*Be subject to the bishop, etc.*

For, since ye are subject to the bishop as to Jesus Christ, ye appear to me to live not after the manner of men, but according to Jesus Christ, who died for us,

Be ye subject to the bishop as to the Lord, for "he watches for your souls, as one that shall give account to God."[3] Wherefore also, ye appear to me to live not after the manner of men, but according to Jesus Christ, who died for us, in order, by believing in His death, ye may escape from death. It is therefore necessary that, as ye indeed do, so without the bishop ye should do nothing, but should also be subject to the presbytery, as to the apostle of Jesus Christ, who is our hope, in whom, if we live, we shall [at last] be found. It is fitting also that the deacons, as being [the ministers] of the mysteries of Jesus Christ, should in every respect be pleasing to all.[1] For they are not ministers of meat and drink, but servants of the church of God. They are bound, therefore, to avoid all grounds of accusation [against them], as they would do fire.

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[1] Literally, "not for use, but for a possession."

[2] Literally, "not according to use, but according to nature."

[3] Heb. xiii. 17.

in order that, by believing in His death, ye may by baptism be made partakers of His resurrection. It is therefore necessary, whatsoever things ye do, to do nothing without the bishop. And be ye subject also to the presbytery, as to the apostles of Jesus Christ, who is our hope, in whom, if we live, we shall be found in Him. It behoves you also, in every way, to please the deacons, who are [ministers] of the mysteries of Christ Jesus; for they are not ministers of meat and drink, but servants of the church of God. They are bound, therefore, to avoid all grounds of accusation [against them], as they would a burning fire. Let them, then, prove themselves to be such.

CHAP. III.—*Honour the deacons, etc.*

In like manner, let all reverence the deacons as an appointment[2] of Jesus Christ, and the

And do ye reverence them as Christ Jesus, of whose place they are the keepers, even as the bishop is the representative of the Father bishop as Jesus Christ, who is the Son of the Father, and the presbyters as the sanhedrim of God, and assembly of the apostles. Apart from these, there is no church.[2] Concerning all this, I am persuaded that ye are of the same opinion. For I have received the manifestation[3] of your love, and still have it with me, in your bishop, whose very appearance is highly instructive,[4] and his meekness of itself a power; whom I imagine even the ungodly must reverence, seeing they are[5] also pleased that I do not spare myself. But shall I, when permitted to write on this point, reach such a height of self-esteem, that though being a condemned[6] man, I should issue commands to you as if I were an apostle?

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[1] It is doubtful whether this exhortation is addressed to the deacons or people; whether the former are urged in all respects to please the latter, or the latter in all points to be pleased with the former.

[2] Literally, "commandment." The text, which is faulty in the MS., has been amended as above by Smith.

of all things, and the presbyters are the sanhedrim of God, and assembly[1] of the apostles of Christ. Apart from these there is no elect church, no congregation of holy ones, no assembly of saints. I am persuaded that ye also are of this opinion. For I have received the manifestation[3] of your love, and still have it with me, in your bishop, whose very appearance is highly instructive, and his meekness of itself a power; whom I imagine even the ungodly must reverence. Loving you as I do, I avoid writing in any severer strain to you, that I may not seem harsh to any, or wanting [in tenderness]. I am indeed bound for the sake of Christ, but I am not yet worthy of Christ. But when I am perfected, perhaps I shall then become so. I do not issue orders like an apostle.

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[1] Or, "conjunction."

[2] Literally, "no church is called."

[3] Or, "pattern."

[4] Literally, "great instruction."

[5] Some here follow a text similar to that of the longer recension.

[6] Both the text and meaning are here very doubtful; some follow the reading of the longer recension.

CHAP. IV.—*I have need of humility.*

I have great knowledge in God,[1] but I restrain myself, lest I should perish through boasting. For now it is needful for me to be the more fearful, and not give heed to those that puff me up. For they that speak to me [in the way of commendation] scourge me. For I do indeed desire to suffer, but I know not if I be worthy to do so. For this longing, though it is not manifest to many, all the more vehemently assails me.[5] I therefore have need of meekness, by which the prince of this world is brought to nought.

But I measure myself, that I may not perish through boasting: but it is good to glory in the Lord.[2] And even though I were established[3] in things pertaining to God, yet then would it befit me to be the more fearful, and not give heed to those that vainly puff me up. For those that commend me scourge me. [I do indeed desire to suffer[4]], but I know not if I be worthy to do so. For the envy of the wicked one is not visible to many, but it wars against me. I therefore have need of meekness, by which the devil, the prince of this world, is brought to nought.

CHAP. V.—*I will not teach you profound doctrines.*

Am I not able to write to you of heavenly things? But I fear to do so, lest I should inflict injury on you who

For might[6] not I write to you things more full of mystery? But I fear to do so, lest I should inflict injury on you who are but babes [in Christ]. Pardon me in this are but babes [in Christ]. Pardon me in this respect, lest, as not being able to receive [such doctrines], ye should be strangled by them. For even I, though I am bound [for Christ], yet am not on that account able to understand heavenly things, and the places[3] of the angels, and their gatherings under their respective princes, things visible and invisible. Without reference to such abstruse subjects, I am still but a learner [in other respects[4]]; for many things are wanting to us, that we come not short of God.

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[1] Literally, "I know many things in God."

[2] 1 Cor. i. 31.

[3] Or, "confirmed."

[4] Omitted in the MS.

[5] A different turn altogether is given to this passage in the longer recension.

[6] ἐβουλόμην apparently by mistake for ἐδυνάμην.

respect, lest, as not being able to receive their weighty import,[1] ye should be strangled by them. For even I, though I am bound [for Christ], and am able to understand heavenly things, the angelic orders, and the different sorts[2] of angels and hosts, the distinctions between powers and dominions, and the diversities between thrones and authorities, the mightiness of the Æons, and the pre-eminence of the cherubim and seraphim, the sublimity of the spirit, the kingdom of the Lord, and above all, the incomparable majesty of Almighty God—though I am acquainted with these things, yet am I not therefore by any means perfect; nor am I such a disciple as Paul or Peter. For many things are yet wanting to me, that I may not fall short of God.

CHAP. VI.—*Abstain from the poison of heretics.*

I therefore, yet not I, but the love of Jesus Christ, entreat you that ye use Christian nourishment only, and abstain from herbage of a different kind; I mean

I therefore, yet not I, but the love of Jesus Christ, "entreat you that ye all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions among you; but that ye be perfectly joined together in the same mind, and in the same judgment."[5]

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[1] Literally, "their force."

[2] Or, "varieties of."

[3] Or, "stations."

[4] Literally, "passing by this;" but both the text and meaning are very doubtful.

[5] 1 Cor. i. 10.

heresy. For those[1] [that are given to this] mix[5] up Jesus Christ with their own poison, speaking things which are unworthy of credit, like those who administer a deadly drug in sweet wine, which he who is ignorant of does greedily[7] take, with a fatal pleasure,[8] leading to his own death.

For there are some vain talkers[2] and deceivers, not Christians, but Christ-betrayers,[3] bearing about the name of Christ in deceit, and "corrupting the word"[4] of the gospel; while they intermix the poison of their deceit with their persuasive talk,[6] as if they mingled aconite with sweet wine, that so he who drinks, being deceived in his taste by the very great sweetness of the draught, may incautiously meet with his death. One of the ancients gives us this advice, "Let no man be called good who mixes good with evil."[9] For they speak of Christ, not that they may preach Christ, but that they may reject Christ; and they speak[10] of the law, not that they may establish the law, but that they may proclaim things contrary to it. For they alienate Christ from the Father, and the law from Christ. They also calumniate His being born of the Virgin; they are ashamed of His cross; they deny His passion; and they do not believe His resurrection. They introduce God as a Being unknown; they suppose Christ to be unbegotten; and as to the Spirit, they do not admit that He exists. Some of them say that the Son is a mere man, and that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are but the same person, and that the creation is the work of God, not by Christ, but by some other strange power.

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[1] The ellipsis in the original is here very variously supplied.

[2] Tit. i. 10.

[3] Literally, "Christ-sellers."

[4] 2 Cor. ii. 17.

[5] Literally, "interweave."

[6] Literally, "sweet address."

[7] Or, "sweetly."

[8] The construction is here difficult and doubtful.

[9] *Apost. Constitutions*, vi. 13.

[10] Supplied from the old Latin version.

CHAP. VII.—*The same continued.*

Be on your guard, therefore, against such persons. And this will be the case with you if you are not puffed up, and continue in intimate union with[1] Jesus Christ our God, and the bishop, and the enactments of the apostles. He that is within the

Be on your guard, therefore, against such persons, that ye admit not of a snare for your own souls. And act so that your life shall be without offence to all men, lest ye become as "a snare upon a watch-tower, and as a net which is spread out."[2] For "he that does not heal himself in his own works, is the brother of him that destroys himself."[3] If, therefore, ye also put away conceit, arrogance, disdain, and haughtiness, it will be your privilege to be inseparably united to God, for "He is nigh unto those that fear Him."[4] And says He, "Upon whom will I look, but upon him that is humble and quiet, and that trembles at my words?"[5] And do ye also reverence your bishop as Christ Himself, according as the blessed apostles have enjoined you. He that is within the altar is pure, altar is pure, but[1] he that is without is not pure; that is, he who does anything apart from the bishop, and presbytery, and deacons,[2] such a man is not pure in his conscience.

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[1] Literally, "unseparated from."

[2] Hos. v. 1.

[3] Prov. xviii. 9 (LXX.).

[4] Ps. lxxxv. 9.

[5] Isa. lxvi. 2.

wherefore also he is obedient to the bishop and presbyters; but he that is without is one that does anything apart from the bishop, the presbyters, and the deacons. Such a person is defiled in his conscience, and is worse than an infidel. For what is the bishop but one who beyond all others possesses all power and authority, so far as it is possible for a man to possess it, who according to his ability has been made an imitator of the Christ of God?[3] And what is the presbytery but a sacred assembly, the counsellors and assessors of the bishop? And what are the deacons but imitators of the angelic powers,[4] fulfilling a pure and blameless ministry unto him, as the holy Stephen did to the blessed James, Timothy and Linus to Paul, Anencletus and Clement to Peter? He, therefore, that will not yield obedience to such, must needs be one utterly without God, an impious man who despises Christ, and depreciates His appointments.

Chap. viii.—*Be on your guard against the snares of the devil.*

Not that I know there is anything of this kind

Now I write these things unto you, not that I know there are any among you; but I put you on your guard, inasmuch as I love you greatly, and foresee the snares of the devil. Wherefore, clothing[4] yourselves with meekness, be ye renewed[5] in faith, that is the flesh of the Lord, and in love, that is the blood of Jesus Christ. Let no one of you cherish any grudge against his neighbour. Give no occasion to the Gentiles, lest by means of a few foolish men the whole multitude [of those that believe] in God be evil spoken of. For, "Woe to him by

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[1] This clause is inserted from the ancient Latin version.

[2] The text has "deacon."

[3] Some render, "being a resemblance according to the power of Christ."

[4] Some read, "imitators of Christ, ministering to the bishop, as Christ to the Father."

such persons among you; nay, indeed I hope that God will never permit any such report to reach my ears, He "who spared not His Son for the sake of His holy church."[1] But foreseeing the snares of the wicked one, I arm you beforehand by my admonitions, as my beloved and faithful children in Christ, furnishing you with the means of protection[2] against the deadly disease of unruly men, by which do ye flee from the disease[3] [referred to] by the good-will of Christ our Lord. Do ye therefore, clothing[4] yourselves with meekness, become the imitators of His sufferings, and of His love, wherewith[6] He loved us when He gave Himself a ransom[7] for us, that He might cleanse us by His blood from our old ungodliness, and bestow life on us when we were almost on the point of perishing through the depravity that was in us. Let no one of you, therefore, cherish any grudge against his neighbour. For says our Lord, "Forgive, and it shall be forgiven unto you."[8] Give no occasion to the Gentiles, lest "by means of a few foolish men the word and doctrine [of Christ] be blaswhose vanity my name is blasphemed among any."[2]

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[1] Rom. viii. 32.

[2] Literally, "making you drink beforehand what will preserve you."

[3] Or, "from which disease."

[4] Literally, "taking up."

[5] Or, "renew yourselves."

[6] Comp. Eph. ii. 4.

[7] Comp. 1 Tim. ii. 6.

[8] Matt. vi. 14.

phemed."[1] For says the prophet, as in the person of God, "Woe to him by whom my name is blasphemed among the Gentiles."[2]

Chap. ix.—*Reference to the history of Christ.*

Stop your ears, therefore, when any one speaks to you at variance with[3] Jesus Christ, who was descended from David, and was also of Mary; who was truly born, and did eat and drink. He was truly persecuted under Pontius Pilate; He was truly crucified, and [truly] died, in the sight of beings in heaven, and on earth, and under the earth. He was also truly raised from the dead, His Father quickening Him, even as after the same manner His Father will so raise up us who believe in

Stop your ears, therefore, when any one speaks to you at variance with[3] Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who was descended from David, and was also of Mary; who was truly begotten of God and of the Virgin, but not after the same manner. For indeed God and man are not the same. He truly assumed a body; for "the Word was made flesh,"[4] and lived upon earth without sin. For says He, "Which of you convicteth me of sin?"[5] He did in reality both eat and drink. He was crucified and died under Pontius Pilate. He really, and not merely in appearance, was crucified, and died, in the sight of beings in heaven, and on earth, and under the earth. By those in heaven I mean such as are possessed of incorporeal natures; by those on earth, the Jews and Romans, and such persons as were present at that time when the Lord was crucified; and by those under the earth, the multitude that arose along with the Lord. For

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[1] 1 Tim. vi. 1; Tit. ii. 5.

[2] Isa. lii. 5.

[3] Literally, "apart from."

[4] John i. 14.

[5] John viii. 46.

Him by Christ Jesus, apart from whom we do not possess the true life.

says the Scripture, "Many bodies of the saints that slept arose,"[1] their graves being opened. He descended, indeed, into Hades alone, but He arose accompanied by a multitude; and rent asunder that means[2] of separation which had existed from the beginning of the world, and cast down its partition-wall. He also rose again in three days, the Father raising Him up; and after spending forty days with the apostles, He was received up to the Father, and "sat down at His right hand, expecting till His enemies are placed under His feet."[3] On the day of the preparation, then, at the third hour, He received the sentence from Pilate, the Father permitting that to happen; at the sixth hour He was crucified; at the ninth hour He gave up the ghost; and before sunset He was buried.[4] During the Sabbath He continued under the earth in the tomb in which Joseph of Arimathæa had laid Him. At the dawning of the Lord's day He arose from the dead, according to what was spoken by Himself, "As Jonah was three days and three nights in the whale's belly, so shall the Son of man also be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth."[1] The day of the preparation, then, comprises the passion; the Sabbath embraces the burial; the Lord's day contains the resurrection.

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[1] Matt. xxvii. 52.

[2] Literally, "hedge" or "fence."

[3] Heb. x. 12, 13.

[4] Some read, "He was taken down from the cross, and laid in a new tomb."

Chap. x.—*The reality of Christ's passion.*

But if, as some that are without God, that is, the unbelieving, say, that He only seemed to suffer (they themselves only seeming to exist), then why am I in bonds? Why do I long to be exposed to[2] the wild beasts? Do I therefore die in vain?[3] Am I not then guilty of falsehood[4] against [the cross of] the Lord?

But if, as some that are without God, that is, the unbelieving, say, He became man in appearance [only], that He did not in reality take unto Him a body, that He died in appearance [merely], and did not in very deed suffer, then for what reason am I now in bonds, and long to be exposed to[2] the wild beasts? In such a case, I die in vain, and am guilty of falsehood[4] against the cross of the Lord. Then also does the prophet in vain declare, "They shall look on Him whom they have pierced, and mourn over themselves as over one beloved."[5] These men, therefore, are not less unbelievers than were those that crucified Him. But as for me, I do not place my hopes in one who died for me in appearance, but in reality. For that which is false is quite abhorrent to the truth. Mary then did truly conceive a body which had God inhabiting it. And God the Word was truly born of the Virgin, having clothed Himself with a body of like passions with our own. He who forms all men in the womb, was Himself really in the womb, and made for Himself a body of the seed of the Virgin, but without any intercourse of man. He was carried in the womb, even as we are, for the usual period of time; and was really born, as we also are; and was in reality nourished with milk, and partook of common meat and drink, even as we do. And when He had lived among men for thirty years, He was baptized by John, really and not in appearance; and when He had preached the gospel three years, and done signs and wonders, He who was Himself the Judge was judged by the Jews, falsely so called, and by Pilate the governor; was scourged, was smitten on the cheek, was spit upon; He wore a crown of thorns and a purple robe; He was condemned: He was crucified in reality, and not in appearance, not in imagination, not in deceit. He really died, and was buried, and rose from the dead, even as He prayed in a certain place, saying, "But do Thou, O Lord, raise me up again, and I shall recompense them."[1] And the Father, who always hears Him,[2] answered and said, "Arise, O God, and judge the earth; for Thou shalt receive all the heathen for Thine inheritance."[3] The Father, therefore, who raised Him up, will also raise us up through Him, apart from whom no one will attain to true life. For says He, "I am the life; he that believeth in me, even though he die, shall live: and every one that liveth and believeth in me, even though he die, shall live for ever."[4] Do ye therefore flee from these ungodly heresies; for they are the inventions of the devil, that serpent who was the author of evil, and who by means of the woman deceived Adam, the father of our race.

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[1] Matt. xii. 40.

[2] Literally, "to fight with."

[3] Some read this and the following clause affirmatively, instead of interrogatively.

[4] The meaning is, that if they spoke the truth concerning the phantasmal character of Christ's death, then Ignatius was guilty of a practical falsehood in suffering for what was false.

[5] Zech. xii. 10.

CHAP. XI.—*Avoid the deadly errors of the Docetæ.*

Flee, therefore, those evil offshoots [of Satan], which produce death-bearing fruit, whereof if any one tastes, he instantly dies. For these men are not the planting of the Father. For if

Do ye also avoid those wicked offshoots of his,[5] Simon his first-born son, and Menander, and Basilides, and all his wicked mob of followers,[6] the worshippers of a man, whom also the prophet Jeremiah pronounces accursed.[7] Flee also the impure Nicolaitanes, falsely they were, they would appear as branches of the cross, and their fruit would be incorruptible. By it[2] He calls you through His passion, as being His members. The head, therefore, cannot be born by itself, without its members; God, who is [the Saviour] Himself, having promised their union.[3]

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[1] Ps. xli. 10.

[2] Comp. John xi. 42.

[3] Ps. lxxxii. 8.

[4] John xi. 25, 26.

[5] *i.e.* Satan's.

[6] Literally, "loud, confused noise."

[7] The Ebionites, who denied the divine nature of our Lord, are here referred to.

so called,[1] who are lovers of pleasure, and given to calumnious speeches. Avoid also the children of the evil one, Theodotus and Cleobulus, who produce death-bearing fruit, whereof if any one tastes, he instantly dies, and that not a mere temporary death, but one that shall endure for ever. These men are not the planting of the Father, but are an accursed brood. And says the Lord, "Let every plant which my heavenly Father has not planted be rooted up."[4] For if they had been branches of the Father, they would not have been "enemies of the cross of Christ,"[5] but rather of those who "killed the Lord of glory."[6] But now, by denying the cross, and being ashamed of the passion, they cover the transgression of the Jews, those fighters against God, those murderers of the Lord; for it were too little to style them merely murderers of the prophets. But Christ invites you to [share in] His immortality, by His passion and resurrection, inasmuch as ye are His members.

CHAP. XII.—*Continue in unity and love.*

I salute you from Smyrna, together with

I salute you from Smyrna, together with the churches of God the churches of God which are with me, who have refreshed me in all things, both in the flesh and in the spirit. My bonds, which I carry about with me for the sake of Jesus Christ (praying that I may attain to God), exhort you. Continue in harmony among yourselves, and in prayer with one another; for it becomes every one of you, and especially the presbyters, to refresh the bishop, to the honour of the Father, of Jesus Christ, and of the apostles. I entreat you in love to hear me, that I may not, by having written, be a testimony against you. And do ye also pray for me, who have need of your love, along with the mercy of God, that I may be worthy of the lot for which I am destined, and that I may not be found reprobate.

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[1] It seems to be here denied that Nicolas was the founder of this school of heretics.

[2] *i.e.* the cross.

[3] Both text and meaning are here doubtful.

[4] Matt. xv. 13.

[5] Phil. iii. 18.

[6] 1 Cor. ii. 8.

which are with me, whose rulers have refreshed me in every respect, both in the flesh and in the spirit. My bonds, which I carry about with me for the sake of Jesus Christ (praying that I may attain to God), exhort you. Continue in harmony among yourselves, and in supplication; for it becomes every one of you, and especially the presbyters, to refresh the bishop, to the honour of the Father, and to the honour of Jesus Christ and of the apostles. I entreat you in love to hear me, that I may not, by having thus written, be a testimony against you. And do ye also pray for me, who have need of your love, along with the mercy of God, that I may be thought worthy to attain the lot for which I am now designed, and that I may not be found reprobate.

Chap. xiii.—*Conclusion.*

The love of the Smyrnæans and Ephesians salutes you. Remember

The love of the Smyrnæans and Ephesians salutes you. Remember our church which is in Syria, from in your prayers the church which is in Syria, from which also I am not worthy to receive my appellation, being the last[1] of them. Fare ye well in Jesus Christ, while ye continue subject to the bishop, as to the command [of God], and in like manner to the presbytery. And do ye, every man, love one another with an undivided heart. Let my spirit be sanctified[2] by yours, not only now, but also when I shall attain to God. For I am as yet exposed to danger. But the Father is faithful in Jesus Christ to fulfil both mine and your petitions: in whom may ye be found unblameable.

which I am not worthy to receive my appellation, being the last[1] of those of that place. Fare ye well in the Lord Jesus Christ, while ye continue subject to the bishop, and in like manner to the presbyters and to the deacons. And do ye, every man, love one another with an undivided heart. My spirit salutes you,[2] not only now, but also when I shall have attained to God; for I am as yet exposed to danger. But the Father of Jesus Christ is faithful to fulfil both mine and your petitions: in whom may we be found without spot. May I have joy of you in the Lord.

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[1] *i.e.* the least.

[2] The shorter recension reads *ἁγνίζετε*, and the longer also hesitates between this and *ἀσπάζεται*. With the former reading the meaning is very obscure: it has been corrected as above to *ἁγνίζηται*.

THE EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS TO THE ROMANS.

Shorter.	Longer.
Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to the church which has obtained mercy, through the majesty of the Most High Father, and Jesus Christ, His only-begotten Son; the church which is beloved and enlightened by the will of Him that willeth all things which are according to the love of Jesus Christ our God, which also presides in the place of the region of the Romans, worthy of God, worthy of honour, worthy of the highest happiness, worthy of praise, worthy of obtaining her every desire, worthy of being	*Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to the church which has obtained mercy, through the majesty of the Most High God the Father, and of Jesus Christ, His only-begotten Son; the church which is sanctified and enlightened by the will of God, who formed all things that are according to the faith and love of Jesus Christ, our God and Saviour; the church which presides in the place of the region of the Romans, and which is worthy of God, worthy of honour, worthy of the highest happiness, worthy of praise, worthy of credit,*[1] *worthy of being*

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[1] Or as in the shorter recension.

deemed holy,[1] *and which presides over love, is named from Christ, and from the Father, which I also salute in the name of Jesus Christ, the Son of the Father: to those who are united, both according to the flesh and spirit, to every one of His commandments; who are filled inseparably with the grace of God, and are purified from every strange taint, [I wish] abundance of happiness unblameably, in Jesus Christ our God.*

deemed holy,[1] *and which presides over love, is named from Christ, and from the Father, and is possessed of the Spirit, which I also salute in the name of Almighty God, and of Jesus Christ His Son: to those who are united, both according to the flesh and spirit, to every one of His commandments, who are filled inseparably with all the grace of God, and are purified from every strange taint, [I wish] abundance of happiness unblameably, in God, even the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ.*

CHAP. I.—*As a prisoner, I hope to see you.*

Through prayer[2] to God I have obtained the privilege of seeing your most worthy faces,[3] and have even[4] been granted more than I requested; for I hope as a prisoner in Christ Jesus to salute you, if indeed it be the will of God

Through prayer to God I have obtained the privilege of seeing your most worthy faces,[3] even as I earnestly begged might be granted me; for as a prisoner in Christ Jesus I hope to salute you, if indeed it be the will [of God] that I be thought worthy of attaining unto the end. For the beginning has been well ordered, if I may obtain that I be thought worthy of attaining unto the end. For the beginning has been well ordered, if I may obtain grace to cling to[1] my lot without hindrance unto the end. For I am afraid of your love,[2] lest it should do me an injury. For it is easy for you to accomplish what you please; but it is difficult for me to attain to God, if ye spare me.

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[1] Or, "most holy."

[2] Some read, "since I have," leaving out the following "for," and finding the apodosis in "I hope to salute you."

[3] Literally, "worthy of God."

[4] Some read, "which I much desired to do."

grace to cling to[1] my lot without hindrance unto the end. For I am afraid of your love,[2] lest it should do me an injury. For it is easy for you to accomplish what you please; but it is difficult for me to attain to God, if ye do not spare me,[3] under the pretence of carnal affection.

CHAP. II.—*Do not save me from martyrdom.*

For it is not my desire to act towards you as a man-pleaser,[4] but as pleasing God, even as also ye please Him. For neither shall I ever have such [another] opportunity of attaining to God; nor will ye, if ye shall now be silent, ever be entitled to[5] the honour of a better work. For if ye are silent concern-

For it is not my desire that ye should please men, but God, even as also ye do please Him. For neither shall I ever hereafter have such an opportunity of attaining to God; nor will ye, if ye shall now be silent, ever be entitled to[5] the honour of a better work. For if ye are silent concerning me, I shall become God's; but if ye show your love to my flesh, I shall again have to run my race. Pray, then, do not seek to confer any greater ing me, I shall become God's; but if you show your love to my flesh, I shall again have to run my race. Pray, then, do not seek to confer any greater favour upon me than that I be sacrificed to God while the altar is still prepared; that, being gathered together in love, ye may sing praise to the Father, through Christ Jesus, that God has deemed me, the bishop of Syria, worthy to be sent for[1] from the east unto the west. It is good to set from the world unto God, that I may rise again to Him.

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[1] Literally, "to receive."

[2] He probably refers here, and in what follows, to the influence which their earnest prayers in his behalf might have with God.

[3] Some read γε instead of μὴ, and translate as in shorter recension.

[4] Some translate as in longer recension, but there is in the one case ὑμῖν, and in the other ὑμᾶς.

[5] Literally, "have to be inscribed to."

favour upon me than that I be sacrificed to God, while the altar is still prepared; that, being gathered together in love, ye may sing praise to the Father, through Christ Jesus, that God has deemed me, the bishop of Syria, worthy to be sent for[1] from the east unto the west, and to become a martyr[2] in behalf of His own precious[3] sufferings, so as to pass from the world to God, that I may rise again unto Him.

Chap. III.—*Pray rather that I may attain to martyrdom.*

Ye have never envied any one; ye have taught others. Now I desire that those things may be confirmed [by your conduct], which in your instructions ye enjoin [on others]. Only request in my behalf both inward and outward

Ye have never envied any one; ye have taught others. Now I desire that those things may be confirmed [by your conduct], which in your instructions ye enjoin [on others]. Only request in my behalf both inward and outward strength, that I may not only speak, but [truly] will, so that I may not merely be called a Christian, but strength, that I may not only speak, but [truly] will; and that I may not merely be called a Christian, but really be found to be one. For if I be truly found [a Christian], I may also be called one, and be then deemed faithful, when I shall no longer appear to the world. Nothing visible is eternal.[1] "For the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal."[2] For our God, Jesus Christ, now that He is with[3] the Father, is all the more revealed [in His glory]. Christianity is not a thing[4] of silence only, but also of [manifest] greatness.

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[1] Literally, "to be found and sent for."

[2] The text is here in great confusion.

[3] Literally, "beautiful." Some read, "it is good to," etc.

really found to be one. For if I be truly found [a Christian], I may also be called one, and be then deemed faithful, when I shall no longer appear to the world. Nothing visible is eternal. "For the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal."[2] The Christian is not the result[4] of persuasion, but of power.[5] When he is hated by the world, he is beloved of God. For says [the Scripture], "If ye were of this world, the world would love its own; but now ye are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of it: continue in fellowship with me."[6]

CHAP. IV.—*Allow me to fall a prey to the wild beasts.*

I write to the churches, and impress on them all, that I shall willingly die for God, unless ye hinder me. I beseech of

I write to all the churches, and impress on them all, that I shall willingly die for God, unless ye hinder me. I beseech of you not to show an unseasonable good-will you not to show an unseasonable good-will towards me. Suffer me to become food for the wild beasts, through whose instrumentality it will be granted me to attain to God. I am the wheat of God, and let me be ground by the teeth of the wild beasts, that I may be found the pure bread of Christ. Rather entice the wild beasts, that they may become my tomb, and may leave nothing of my body; so that when I have fallen asleep [in death], I may be no trouble to any one. Then shall I truly be a disciple of Christ, when the world shall not see so much as my body. Entreat Christ for me, that by these instruments[1] I may be found a sacrifice [to God]. I do not, as Peter and Paul, issue commandments unto you. They were apostles; I am but a condemned man: they were free,[2] while I am, even until now, a

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[1] Some read, "good."

[2] 2 Cor. iv. 18. This quotation is not found in the old Latin version of the shorter recension.

[3] Or, "in."

[4] Literally, "work."

[5] The meaning is here doubtful.

[6] John xv. 19.

towards me. Suffer me to become food for the wild beasts, through whose instrumentality it will be granted me to attain to God. I am the wheat of God, and am ground by the teeth of the wild beasts, that I may be found the pure bread of God. Rather entice the wild beasts, that they may become my tomb, and may leave nothing of my body; so that when I have fallen asleep [in death], I may not be found troublesome to any one. Then shall I be a true disciple of Jesus Christ, when the world shall not see so much as my body. Entreat the Lord for me, that by these instruments[1] I may be found a sacrifice to God. I do not, as Peter and Paul, issue commandments unto you. They were apostles of Jesus Christ, but I am the very least [of believers]: they were free,[2] as the servants of God; while I am, even until servant. But when I suffer, I shall be the freed-man of Jesus, and shall rise again emancipated in Him. And now, being a prisoner, I learn not to desire anything worldly or vain.

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[1] *i.e.* by the teeth of the wild beasts.

[2] "Free," probably from human infirmity.

now, a servant. But when I suffer, I shall be the freed-man of Jesus Christ, and shall rise again emancipated in Him. And now, being in bonds for Him, I learn not to desire anything worldly or vain.

CHAP. V.—*I desire to die.*

From Syria even unto Rome I fight with beasts,[1] both by land and sea, both by night and day, being bound to ten leopards, I mean a band of soldiers, who, even when they receive benefits,[2] show themselves all the worse. But I am the more instructed by their injuries [to act as a disciple of Christ]; "yet am I not thereby justified."[3] May I enjoy the wild beasts that are prepared for me; and I pray they may be found eager to rush upon me, which also I will entice to devour me speedily, and not deal with me as with some, whom, out

From Syria even unto Rome I fight with beasts,[1] both by land and sea, both by night and day, being bound to ten leopards, I mean a band of soldiers, who, even when they receive benefits,[2] show themselves all the worse. But I am the more instructed by their injuries [to act as a disciple of Christ]; "yet am I not thereby justified."[3] May I enjoy the wild beasts that are prepared for me; and I pray that they may be found eager to rush upon me, which also I will entice to devour me speedily, and not deal with me as with some, whom, out of fear, they have not of fear, they have not touched. But if they be unwilling to assail me, I will compel them to do so. Pardon me [in this]: I know what is for my benefit. Now I begin to be a disciple. And let no one, of things visible or invisible, envy[1] me that I should attain to Jesus Christ. Let fire and the cross; let the crowds of wild beasts; let tearings,[2] breakings, and dislocations of bones; let cutting off of members; let shatterings of the whole body; and let all the dreadful[3] torments of the devil come upon me: only let me attain to Jesus Christ.

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[1] Comp. 1 Cor. xv. 32, where the word is also used figuratively.

[2] Probably the soldiers received gifts from the Christians, to treat Ignatius with kindness.

[3] 1 Cor. iv. 4.

touched. But if they be unwilling to assail me, I will compel them to do so. Pardon me [in this]: I know what is for my benefit. Now I begin to be a disciple, and have[1] no desire after anything visible or invisible, that I may attain to Jesus Christ. Let fire and the cross; let the crowds of wild beasts; let breakings, tearings, and separations of bones; let cutting off of members; let bruising to pieces of the whole body; and let the very torment of the devil come upon me: only let me attain to Jesus Christ.

CHAP. VI.—*By death I shall attain true life.*

All the pleasures of the world, and all the kingdoms of this earth,[4] shall profit me nothing. It is better for me to die in behalf of[5] Jesus Christ, than to reign

All the ends of the world, and all the kingdoms of this earth,[4] shall profit me nothing. It is better for me to die for the sake of Jesus Christ, than to reign over all the ends of the earth. "For what is a man profited, if he gain over all the ends of the earth. "For what shall a man be profited, if he gain the whole world, but lose his own soul?"[1] Him I seek, who died for us: Him I desire, who rose again for our sake. This is the gain which is laid up for me. Pardon me, brethren: do not hinder me from living, do not wish to keep me in a state of death;[2] and while I desire to belong to God, do not ye give me over to the world. Suffer me to obtain pure light: when I have gone thither, I shall indeed be a man of God. Permit me to be an imitator of the passion of my God. If any one has Him within himself, let him consider what I desire, and let him have sympathy with me, as knowing how I am straitened.

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[1] In the shorter recension there is ζηλώσῃ, and in the longer ζηλῶσαι; hence the variety of rendering, but the translation is by no means certain.

[2] Some deem this and the following word spurious.

[3] Literally, "evil." [4] Literally, "this age." [5] Literally, "into."

the whole world, but lose his own soul?" I long after the Lord, the Son of the true God and Father, even Jesus Christ. Him I seek, who died for us and rose again. Pardon me, brethren: do not hinder me in attaining to life; for Jesus is the life of believers. Do not wish to keep me in a state of death,[2] for life without Christ is death. While I desire to belong to God, do not ye give me over to the world. Suffer me to obtain pure light: when I have gone thither, I shall indeed be a man of God. Permit me to be an imitator of the passion of Christ, my God. If any one has Him within himself, let him consider what I desire, and let him have sympathy with me, as knowing how I am straitened.

CHAP. VII.—*Reason of desiring to die.*

The prince of this world would fain carry

The prince of this world would fain carry me away, and corrupt me away, and corrupt my disposition towards God. Let none of you, therefore, who are [in Rome] help him; rather be ye on my side, that is, on the side of God. Do not speak of Jesus Christ, and yet set your desires on the world. Let not envy find a dwelling-place among you; nor even should I, when present with you, exhort you to it, be ye persuaded to listen to me, but rather give credit to those things which I now write to you. For though I am alive while I write to you, yet I am eager to die. My love[1] has been crucified, and there is no fire in me desiring to be fed;[2] but there is within me a water that liveth and speaketh,[4] saying to me inwardly, Come to the Father. I have no delight in corruptible food, nor in the pleasures of this life.

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[1] Matt. xvi. 26. Some omit this quotation.

[2] Literally, "to die."

my disposition towards God. Let none of you, therefore, who are [in Rome] help him; rather be ye on my side, that is, on the side of God. Do not speak of Jesus Christ, and yet prefer this world to Him. Let not envy find a dwelling-place among you; nor even should I, when present with you, exhort you to it, be ye persuaded, but rather give credit to those things which I now write to you. For though I am alive while I write to you, yet I am eager to die for the sake of Christ. My love[1] has been crucified, and there is no fire in me that loves anything; but there is living water springing up in me,[3] and which says to me inwardly, Come to the Father. I have no delight in corruptible food, nor in the pleasures of this life. I desire the bread of God, the heavenly bread, the bread of life, which is the flesh of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who became afterwards of the seed of David and Abraham; and I desire the drink, namely His blood, which is incorruptible love and eternal life.

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[1] Some understand by *love* in this passage, *Christ Himself;* others regard it as referring to *the natural desires of the heart.*

[2] Literally, "desiring material."

[3] Comp. John iv. 14.

[4] The text and meaning are here doubtful. We have followed Hefele, who understands by the water *the Holy Spirit*, and refers to John vii. 38.

I desire the bread of God, the heavenly bread, the bread of life, which is the flesh of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who became afterwards of the seed of David and Abraham; and I desire the drink of God, namely His blood, which is incorruptible love and eternal life.

CHAP. VIII.—*Be ye favourable to me.*

I no longer wish to live after the manner of men, and my desire shall be fulfilled if ye consent. Be ye willing, then, that ye also may have your desires fulfilled. I entreat you in this brief letter; do ye give credit to me. Jesus Christ will reveal these things to you, [so that ye shall know] that I speak truly. He[3] is the mouth altogether free from falsehood, by which the Father has truly spoken. Pray ye for me, that I may attain [the object of my desire]. I have not written to you ac-

I no longer wish to live after the manner of men, and my desire shall be fulfilled if ye consent. "I am crucified with Christ: nevertheless I live; yet no longer I, since Christ liveth in me."[1] I entreat you in this brief letter: do not refuse me; believe me that I love Jesus, who was delivered [to death] for my sake. "What shall I render to the Lord for all His benefits towards me?"[2] Now God, even the Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ, shall reveal these things to you, [so that ye shall know] that I speak truly. And do ye pray along with me, that I may attain my aim in the Holy Spirit. I have not written to you according to the flesh, but according to the will of God. If cording to the flesh, but according to the will of God. If I shall suffer, ye have wished [well] to me; but if I am rejected, ye have hated me.

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[1] Gal. ii. 20.

[2] Ps. cxvi. 12.

[3] Some refer this to Ignatius himself.

I shall suffer, ye have loved me; but if I am rejected, ye have hated me.

Chap. ix.—*Pray for the church in Syria.*

Remember in your prayers the church in Syria, which now has God for its shepherd, instead of me. Jesus Christ alone will oversee it, and your love [will also regard it]. But as for me, I am ashamed to be counted one of them; for indeed I am not worthy, as being the very last of them, and one born out of due time.[1] But I have obtained mercy to be somebody, if I shall attain to God. My spirit salutes you, and the love of the churches that have received me in the name of Jesus Christ, and not as a mere passer-by. For even those churches which were not[2] near to me in the way, I mean

Remember in your prayers the church which is in Syria, which, instead of me, has now for its shepherd the Lord, who says, "I am the good Shepherd." And He alone will oversee it, as well as your love towards Him. But as for me, I am ashamed to be counted one of them; for I am not worthy, as being the very last of them, and one born out of due time. But I have obtained mercy to be somebody, if I shall attain to God. My spirit salutes you, and the love of the churches which have received me in the name of Jesus Christ, and not as a mere passer-by. For even those churches which were according to the flesh,[1] have gone before me,[2] city by city, [to meet me.]

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[1] Comp. 1 Cor. xv. 8, 9.

[2] Some refer this to the jurisdiction of Ignatius.

not near to me in the way, have brought me forward, city by city.

CHAP. X.—*Conclusion.*

Now I write these things to you from Smyrna by the Ephesians, who are deservedly most happy. There is also with me, along with many others, Crocus, one dearly beloved by me.[3] As to those who have gone before me from Syria to Rome for the glory of God, I believe that you are acquainted with them; to whom, [then,] do ye make known that I am at hand. For they are all worthy, both of God and of you; and it is becoming that you should refresh them in all things. I have written these things unto you, on the day before the ninth of the Kalends of September (that[4] is, on

Now I write these things to you from Smyrna by the Ephesians, who are deservedly most happy. There is also with me, along with many others, Crocus, one dearly beloved by me.[3] As to those who have gone before me from Syria to Rome for the glory of God, I believe that you are acquainted with them; to whom, [then,] do ye make known that I am at hand. For they are all worthy, both of God and of you; and it is becoming that you should refresh them in all things. I have written these the twenty-third day of August). Fare ye well to the end, in the patience of Jesus Christ. Amen.

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[1] *i.e.* the outward road he had to travel.

[2] Or, "have sent me forward;" comp. Tit. iii. 13.

[3] Literally, "the name desired to me."

[4] This clause is evidently an explanatory gloss which has crept into the text.

things unto you on the day before the ninth of the Kalends of September. Fare ye well to the end, in the patience of Jesus Christ.

THE EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS TO THE PHILADELPHIANS.

Shorter.

Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to the church of God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, which is at Philadelphia, in Asia, which has obtained mercy, and is established in the harmony of God, and rejoiceth unceasingly[1] *in the passion of our Lord, and is filled with all mercy through His resurrection; which I salute in the blood of Jesus Christ, who is our eternal and enduring joy, especially if* [*men*] *are in unity with the bishop, the presbyters, and the deacons, who have been*

Longer.

Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to the church of God the Father, and of the Lord Jesus Christ, which is at Philadelphia, which has obtained mercy through love, and is established in the harmony of God, and rejoiceth unceasingly[1] *in the passion of our Lord Jesus, and is filled with all mercy through His resurrection; which I salute in the blood of Jesus Christ, who is our eternal and enduring joy, especially to those who are in unity with the bishop, and the presbyters, and the deacons, who have been appointed by the will of God the Father, through the Lord Jesus Christ, who, according to His own will, has firmly established His church upon a rock, by a spiritual building, not made with hands, against which the winds and the floods*

[1] Or, "inseparably."

appointed according to the mind of Jesus Christ, whom He has established in security, after His own will, and by His Holy Spirit.

have beaten, yet have not been able to overthrow it:[1] *yea, and may spiritual wickedness never be able to do so, but be thoroughly weakened by the power of Jesus Christ our Lord.*

Chap. i.—*Praise of the bishop.*

Which bishop,[2] I know, obtained the ministry which pertains to the common [weal], not of himself, neither by men,[3] nor through vainglory, but by the love of God the Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ; at whose meekness I am struck with admiration, and who by his silence is able to accomplish more than those who vainly talk. For he is in harmony with the commandments [of God], even as the harp is with its strings. Wherefore my soul declares his mind towards God a happy one, knowing it to be virtuous and perfect, and that his stability as well as freedom from all anger is after the example of the in-

Having beheld your bishop, I know that he was not selected to undertake the ministry which pertains to the common [weal], either by himself or by men,[3] or out of vainglory, but by the love of Jesus Christ, and of God the Father, who raised Him from the dead; at whose meekness I am struck with admiration, and who by His silence is able to accomplish more than they who talk a great deal. For he is in harmony with the commandments and ordinances of the Lord, even as the strings are with the harp, and is no less blameless than was Zacharias the priest.[4] Wherefore my soul declares his mind towards God a happy one, knowing it to be virtuous and perfect, and that his stability as well as freedom from all anger is after finite[1] meekness of the living God.

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[1] Comp. Matt. vii. 25.

[2] The bishop previously referred to.

[3] Comp. Gal. i. 1.

[4] Luke i. 6.

the example of the infinite meekness of the living God.

CHAP. II.—*Maintain union with the bishop.*

Wherefore, as children of light and truth, flee from division and wicked doctrines; but where the shepherd is, there do ye as sheep follow. For there are many wolves that appear worthy of credit, who, by means of a pernicious pleasure, carry captive[4] those that are running towards God; but in your unity they shall have no place.

Wherefore, as children of light and truth, avoid the dividing of your unity, and the wicked doctrine of the heretics, from whom "a defiling influence has gone forth into all the earth."[2] But where the shepherd is, there do ye as sheep follow. For there are many wolves in sheep's clothing,[3] who, by means of a pernicious pleasure, carry captive[4] those that are running towards God; but in your unity they shall have no place.

CHAP. III.—*Avoid schismatics.*

Keep yourselves from those evil plants which Jesus Christ does not tend, because they are not the planting of the Father. Not that I have found any division among you, but exceeding purity. For as many as are of God and of Jesus Christ are also with the bishop. And as many as shall, in the

Keep yourselves, then, from those evil plants which Jesus Christ does not tend, but that wild beast, the destroyer of men, because they are not the planting of the Father, but the seed of the wicked one. Not that I have found any division among you do I write these things; but I arm you beforehand, as the children of God. For as many as are of Christ are also with the bishop; but as many as fall away from him, and embrace communion exercise of repentance, return into the unity of the church, these, too, shall belong to God, that they may live according to Jesus Christ. Do not err, my brethren. If any man follows him that makes a schism in the church, he shall not inherit the kingdom of God. If any one walks according to a strange[2] opinion, he agrees not with the passion [of Christ].

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[1] Literally, "all."

[2] Jer. xxiii. 15.

[3] Comp. Matt. vii. 15.

[4] Comp. 2 Tim. iii. 6.

with the accursed, these shall be cut off along with them. For they are not Christ's husbandry, but the seed of the enemy, from whom may you ever be delivered by the prayers of the shepherd, that most faithful and gentle shepherd who presides over you. I therefore exhort you in the Lord to receive with all tenderness those that repent and return to the unity of the church, that through your kindness and forbearance they may recover[1] themselves out of the snare of the devil, and becoming worthy of Jesus Christ, may obtain eternal salvation in the kingdom of Christ. Brethren, be not deceived. If any man follows him that separates from the truth, he shall not inherit the kingdom of God; and if any man does not stand aloof from the preacher of falsehood, he shall be condemned to hell. For it is obligatory neither to separate from the godly, nor to associate with the ungodly. If any one walks according to a strange[2] opinion, he is not of Christ, nor a partaker of His passion; but is a fox,[3] a destroyer of the vineyard of Christ. Have no fellowship[4] with such a man, lest ye perish along with him, even should he be thy father, thy son, thy brother, or a member of thy family. For says

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[1] 2 Tim. ii. 26.

[2] *i.e.* heretical.

[3] Comp. Song of Sol. ii. 15.

[4] Comp. 1 Cor. v. 11.

[the Scripture], "Thine eye shall not spare him."[1] You ought therefore to "hate those that hate God, and to waste away [with grief] on account of His enemies."[2] I do not mean that you should beat them or persecute them, as do the Gentiles "that know not the Lord and God;"[3] but that you should regard them as your enemies, and separate yourselves from them, while yet you admonish them, and exhort them to repentance, if it may be they will hear, if it may be they will submit themselves. For our God is a lover of mankind, and "will have all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth."[4] Wherefore "He makes His sun to rise upon the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust;"[5] of whose kindness the Lord, wishing us also to be imitators, says, "Be ye perfect, even as also your Father that is in heaven is perfect."[6]

Chap. iv.—*Have but one Eucharist, etc.*

Take ye heed, then, to have but one Eucharist. For there is one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and one cup to [show forth[7]] the unity

I have confidence of you in the Lord, that ye will be of no other mind. Wherefore I write boldly to your love, which is worthy of God, and exhort you to have but one faith, and one [kind of] preach-of His blood; one altar; as there is one bishop, along with the presbytery and deacons, my fellow-servants: that so, whatsoever ye do, ye may do it according to [the will of] God.

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[1] Deut. xiii. 6, 8.
[2] Ps. cxix. 21.
[3] 1 Thess. iv. 5.
[4] 1 Tim. ii. 4.
[5] Matt. v. 45.
[6] Matt. v. 48.
[7] Literally, "into."

ing, and one Eucharist. For there is one flesh of the Lord Jesus Christ; and His blood which was shed for us is one; one loaf also is broken to all [the communicants], and one cup is distributed among them all: there is but one altar for the whole church, and one bishop, with the presbytery and deacons, my fellow-servants. Since, also, there is but one unbegotten Being, God, even the Father; and one only-begotten Son, God, the Word and man; and one Comforter, the Spirit of truth; and also one preaching, and one faith, and one baptism;[1] and one church which the holy apostles established from one end of the earth to the other by the blood of Christ, and by their own sweat and toil; it behoves you also, therefore, as "a peculiar people, and a holy nation,"[2] to perform all things with harmony in Christ. Wives, be ye subject to your husbands in the fear of God;[3] and ye virgins, to Christ in purity, not counting marriage an abomination, but desiring that which is better, not for the reproach of wedlock, but for the sake of meditating on the law. Children, obey your parents, and have an affection for them, as workers together with God for your birth [into the world]. Servants, be subject to your masters

[1] Eph. iv. 5.

[2] Tit. ii. 14; 1 Pet. ii. 9.

[3] Eph. v. 22.

in God, that ye may be the freedmen of Christ.[1] Husbands, love your wives, as fellow-servants of God, as your own body, as the partners of your life, and your coadjutors in the procreation of children. Virgins, have Christ alone before your eyes, and His Father in your prayers, being enlightened by the Spirit. May I have pleasure in your purity, as that of Elijah, or as of Joshua the son of Nun, as of Melchizedek, or as of Elisha, as of Jeremiah, or as of John the Baptist, as of the beloved disciple, as of Timothy, as of Titus, as of Evodius, as of Clement, who departed this life in [perfect] chastity.[2] Not, however, that I blame the other blessed [saints] because they entered into the married state, of which I have just spoken.[3] For I pray that, being found worthy of God, I may be found at their feet in the kingdom, as at the feet of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob; as of Joseph, and Isaiah, and the rest of the prophets; as of Peter, and Paul, and the rest of the apostles, that were married men. For they entered into these marriages not for the sake of appetite, but out of regard for the propagation of mankind. Fathers, "bring up your children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord;"[1] and teach them the holy Scriptures, and also trades, that they may not indulge in idleness. Now [the Scripture] says, "A righteous father educates [his children] well; his heart shall rejoice in a wise son."[2] Masters, be gentle towards your servants, as holy Job has taught you;[3] for there is one nature, and one family of mankind. For "in Christ there is neither bond nor free."[4] Let governors be obedient to Cæsar; soldiers to those that command them; deacons to the presbyters, as to high-priests; the presbyters, and deacons, and the rest of the clergy, together with all the people, and the soldiers, and the governors, and Cæsar [himself], to the bishop; the bishop to Christ, even as Christ to the Father. And thus unity is preserved throughout. Let not the widows be wanderers about, nor fond of dainties, nor gadders from house to house; but let them be like Judith, noted for her seriousness; and like Anna, eminent for her sobriety. I do not ordain these things as an apostle: for "who am I, or what is my father's house,"[5] that I should pretend to be equal in honour to them? But as your "fellow-soldier,"[1] I hold the position of one who [simply] admonishes you.

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[1] 1 Cor. vii. 22.

[2] There was a prevalent opinion among the ancient Christian writers, that all these holy men lived a life of celibacy.

[3] Or, "it is not because, etc., that I have mentioned these."

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[1] Eph. vi. 4.

[2] Prov. xxiii. 24.

[3] Job xxxi. 13, 15.

[4] Gal. iii. 28.

[5] 1 Sam. xviii. 18; 2 Sam. vii. 18.

CHAP. V.—*Pray for me.*

My brethren, I am greatly enlarged in loving you; and rejoicing exceedingly [over you], I seek to secure your safety. Yet it is not I, but Jesus Christ, for whose sake being bound I fear the more, inasmuch as I am not yet perfect. But your prayer to God shall make me perfect, that I may attain to that portion which through mercy has been allotted me, while I flee to the gospel as to the flesh of Jesus, and to the apostles as to the presbytery of the church. And let us also love the prophets, because they too have proclaimed the gospel,[3] and placed their hope in Him,[4] and waited for Him; in whom also believing, they were saved, through

My brethren, I am greatly enlarged in loving you; and rejoicing exceedingly [over you], I seek to secure your safety. Yet it is not I, but the Lord Jesus through me; for whose sake being bound, I fear the more, for I am not yet perfect. But your prayer to God shall make me perfect, that I may attain that to which I have been called, while I flee to the gospel as to the flesh of Jesus Christ, and to the apostles as the presbytery of the church. I do also love the prophets as those who announced Christ, and as being partakers of the same Spirit with the apostles. For as the false prophets and the false apostles drew [to themselves] one and the same wicked, deceitful, and seducing[2] spirit; so also did the prophets and the apostles receive from God, through Jesus Christ, one and the same Holy Spirit, who is good, and sovereign,[5] and true, and the Author of [saving] knowledge.[6] For there is one God of the Old and New union to Jesus Christ, being holy men, worthy of love and admiration, having had witness borne to them by Jesus Christ, and being reckoned along with [us] in the gospel of the common hope.

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[1] Phil. ii. 25.

[2] Literally, "people-deceiving."

[3] Literally, "have proclaimed in reference to the gospel."

[4] In Christ.

[5] Comp. Ps. li. 12 (LXX.).

[6] Literally, "teaching."

Testament, "one Mediator between God and men," for the creation of both intelligent and sensitive beings, and in order to exercise a beneficial and suitable providence [over them]. There is also one Comforter, who displayed[1] His power in Moses, and the prophets, and apostles. All the saints, therefore, were saved by Christ, hoping in Him, and waiting for Him; and they obtained through Him salvation, being holy ones, worthy of love and admiration, having testimony borne to them by Jesus Christ, in the gospel of our common hope.

CHAP. VI.—*Do not accept Judaism.*

But if any one preach the Jewish law[2] unto you, listen not to him. For it is better to hearken to Christian doctrine from a man who has been circumcised, than to Judaism from one uncircumcised. But if either of such persons do not speak concerning Jesus Christ, they are in my judgment but as monuments and sepulchres of the dead, upon which

If any one preaches the one God of the law and the prophets, but denies Christ to be the Son of God, he is a liar, even as also is his father the devil,[3] and is a Jew falsely-so-called, being possessed of[4] mere carnal circumcision. If any one confesses Christ Jesus the Lord, but denies the God of the law and of the prophets, saying that the Father of Christ is not the Maker of heaven and earth, he has not continued in the truth any more than his father the devil,[3] and is a disciple of Simon Magus, not of the Holy Spirit. If any are written only the names of men. Flee therefore the wicked devices and snares of the prince of this world, lest at any time being

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[1] Or, "wrought."

[2] Literally, "Judaism."

[3] Comp. John viii. 44.

[4] Literally, "beneath."

one says there is one God, and also confesses Christ Jesus, but thinks the Lord to be a mere man, and not the only-begotten[1] God, and Wisdom, and the Word of God, and deems Him to consist merely of a soul and body, such an one is a serpent, that preaches deceit and error for the destruction of men. And such a man is poor in understanding, even as by name he is an Ebionite.[2] If any one confesses the truths mentioned,[3] but calls lawful wedlock, and the procreation of children, destruction and pollution, or deems certain kinds of food abominable, such an one has the apostate dragon dwelling within him. If any one confesses the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and praises the creation, but calls the incarnation merely an appearance, and is ashamed of the passion, such an one has denied the faith, not less than the Jews who killed Christ. If any one confesses these things, and that God the Word did dwell in a human body, being within it as the Word, even as the soul also is in the body, because it was God that inhabited it, and not a human soul, but affirms that unlawful unions are a good thing, and places the highest happiness[4] in pleasure, as conquered[2] by his artifices,[3] ye grow weak in your love. But be ye all joined together[4] with an undivided heart. And I thank my God that I have a good conscience in respect to you, and that no one has it in his power to boast, either privately or publicly, that I have burdened[6] any one either in much or in little. And I wish for all among whom I have spoken, that they may not possess that for a testimony against them.

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[1] Comp. the reading sanctioned by the ancient authorities, John i. 18.

[2] From a Hebrew word meaning "poor."

[3] Or, "these things."

[4] Literally, "the end of happiness."

does the man who is falsely called a Nicolaitan, this person can neither be a lover of God, nor a lover of Christ, but is a corrupter of his own flesh, and therefore void of the Holy Spirit, and a stranger to Christ. All such persons are but monuments and sepulchres of the dead, upon which are written only the names of dead men. Flee, therefore, the wicked devices and snares of the spirit which now worketh in the children of this world,[1] lest at any time being overcome,[2] ye grow weak in your love. But be ye all joined together[4] with an undivided heart and a willing mind, "being of one accord and of one judgment,"[5] being always of the same opinion about the same things, both when you are at ease and in danger, both in sorrow and in joy. I thank God, through Jesus Christ, that I have a good conscience in respect to you, and that no one has it in his power to boast, either privately or publicly, that I have burdened any one either in much or in little. And I wish for all among whom I have spoken, that they may not possess that for a testimony against them.

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[1] Comp. Eph. ii. 2. [2] Literally, "oppressed." [3] Or, "will."

[4] Some render, "come together into the same place."

[5] Phil. ii. 2.

[6] Apparently by attempting to impose the yoke of Judaism.

Chap. vii.—*I have exhorted you to unity.*

For though some would have deceived me according to the flesh, yet the Spirit, as being from God, is not deceived. For it knows both whence it comes and whither it goes,[1] and detects the secrets [of the heart]. For, when I was among you, I cried, I spoke with a loud voice: Give heed to the bishop, and to the presbytery and deacons. Now, some suspected me of having spoken thus, as knowing beforehand the division caused by some among you.[2] But He is my witness, for whose sake I am in bonds, that I got no intelligence from any man.[3] But the Spirit proclaimed these words: Do nothing without the bishop; keep your bodies[4] as the temples of God;[5] love unity; avoid divisions; be the followers of Jesus Christ,

For though some would have deceived me according to the flesh, yet my spirit is not deceived; for I have received it from God. For it knows both whence it comes and whither it goes, and detects the secrets [of the heart]. For when I was among you, I cried, I spoke with a loud voice—the word is not mine, but God's—Give heed to the bishop, and to the presbytery and deacons. But if ye suspect that I spake thus, as having learned beforehand the division caused by some among you, He is my witness, for whose sake I am in bonds, that I learned nothing of it from the mouth of any man. But the Spirit made an announcement to me, saying as follows: Do nothing without the bishop; keep your bodies[4] as the temples of God; love unity; avoid divisions; be ye followers of Paul, and of the rest even as He is of His Father.

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[1] John iii. 8.

[2] Some translate, "as foreseeing the division to arise among you."

[3] Literally, "did not know from human flesh."

[4] Literally, "your flesh."

[5] Comp. 1 Cor. iii. 16, vi. 19.

of the apostles, even as they also were of Christ.

Chap. viii.—*The same continued.*

I therefore did what belonged to me, as a man devoted to[1] unity. For where there is division and wrath, God doth not dwell. To all them that repent, the Lord grants forgiveness, if they turn in penitence to the unity of God, and to communion with the bishop.[2] I trust [as to you] in the grace of Jesus Christ, who shall free you from every bond. And I exhort you to do nothing out of strife, but according to the doctrine of Christ. When I heard some saying, If I do not find it in the ancient[5] Scriptures, I will not believe the gospel; on my saying to them, It is written, they answered me, That remains to be proved.

I therefore did what belonged to me, as a man devoted to unity; adding this also, that where there is diversity of judgment, and wrath, and hatred, God does not dwell. To all them that repent, God grants forgiveness, if they with one consent return to the unity of Christ, and communion with the bishop.[2] I trust to the grace of Jesus Christ, that He will free you from every bond of wickedness.[3] I therefore exhort you that ye do nothing out of strife,[4] but according to the doctrine of Christ. For I have heard some saying, If I do not find the gospel in the archives, I will not believe it. To such persons I say that my archives are Jesus Christ, to disobey whom is manifest destruction. My authentic archives are His cross, and death, and resurrection, and the faith which bears on these things, by which I desire, through your prayers, to be justified. He who disbelieves the gospel disbelieves everything along

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[1] Literally, "prepared for."

[2] Literally, "to the assembly of the bishop."

[3] Comp. Isa. lviii. 6.

[4] Phil. ii. 3.

[5] The meaning here is very doubtful. Some read ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις, as translated above; others prefer ἐν τοῖς ἀρχείοις, as in the longer recension.

But to me Jesus Christ is in the place of all that is ancient: His cross, and death, and resurrection, and the faith[1] which is by Him, are undefiled monuments of antiquity; by which I desire, through your prayers, to be justified.

with it. For the archives ought not to be preferred to the Spirit.[2] "It is hard to kick against the pricks;"[3] it is hard to disbelieve Christ; it is hard to reject the preaching of the apostles.

CHAP. IX.—*The Old Testament is good: the New Testament is better.*

The priests[4] indeed are good, but the High Priest is better; to whom the holy of holies has been committed, and who alone has been entrusted with the secrets of God. He is the door of the Father, by which enter in Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the prophets, and the apostles, and the church. All these have for their object the attaining to the unity of God. But the gospel possesses

The priests[4] indeed, and the ministers of the word, are good; but the High Priest is better, to whom the holy of holies has been committed, and who alone has been entrusted with the secrets of God. The ministering powers of God are good. The Comforter is holy, and the Word is holy, the Son of the Father, by whom He made all things, and exercises a providence over them all. This is the Way[5] which leads to the Father, the Rock,[6] the Defence,[7] the Key, the Shepherd,[8] the Sacrifice, the Door[9] of knowledge, through which have entered Abraham, something transcendent [above the former dispensation], viz. the appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ, His passion and resurrection. For the beloved prophets announced Him,[1] but the gospel is the perfection of immortality.[2] All these things are good together, if ye believe in love.

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[1] *i.e.* the system of Christian doctrine.

[2] Or, "the archives of the Spirit are not exposed to all."

[3] Acts xxvi. 14.

[4] *i.e.* the Jewish priests.

[5] John xiv. 6.

[6] 1 Cor. x. 4.

[7] Literally, "the hedge"

[8] John x. 11.

[9] John x. 9.

and Isaac, and Jacob, Moses and all the company of the prophets, and these pillars of the world, the apostles, and the spouse of Christ, on whose account He poured out His own blood, as her marriage portion, that He might redeem her. All these things tend towards the unity of the one and only true God. But the gospel possesses something transcendent [above the former dispensation], viz. the appearing of our Saviour Jesus Christ, His passion, and the resurrection itself. For those things which the prophets announced, saying, "Until He come for whom it is reserved, and He shall be the expectation of the Gentiles,"[3] have been fulfilled in the gospel, [our Lord saying,] "Go ye and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."[4] All then are good together, the law, the prophets, the apostles, the whole company [of others] that have believed through them: only if we love one another.

CHAP. X.—*Congratulate the inhabitants of Antioch on the close of the persecution.*

Since, according to your prayers, and the

Since, according to your prayers, and the compassion which ye feel compassion which ye feel in Christ Jesus, it is reported to me that the church which is at Antioch in Syria possesses peace, it will become you, as a church of God, to elect a deacon to act as the ambassador of God [for you] to [the brethren there], that he may rejoice along with them when they are met together, and glorify the name [of God]. Blessed is he in Jesus Christ, who shall be deemed worthy of such a ministry; and ye too shall be glorified. And if ye are willing, it is not beyond your power to do this, for the sake of[1] God; as also the nearest churches have sent, in some cases bishops, and in others presbyters and deacons.

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[1] Literally, "proclaimed as to Him."

[2] The meaning is doubtful. Comp. 2 Tim. i. 10.

[3] Gen. xlix. 10.

[4] Matt. xxviii. 19.

in Christ Jesus, it is reported to me that the church which is at Antioch in Syria possesses peace, it will become you, as a church of God, to elect a bishop to act as the ambassador of God [for you] to [the brethren] there, that it may be granted them to meet together, and to glorify the name of God. Blessed is he in Christ Jesus, who shall be deemed worthy of such a ministry; and if ye be zealous [in this matter], ye shall receive glory in Christ. And if ye are willing, it is not altogether beyond your power to do this, for the sake of[1] God; as also the nearest churches have sent, in some cases bishops, and in others presbyters and deacons.

CHAP. XI.—*Thanks and salutation.*

Now, as to Philo the deacon, of Cilicia, a man of reputation, who still ministers to me in the word of God, along with Rheus Agathopus, an

Now, as to Philo the deacon, a man of Cilicia, of high reputation, who still ministers to me in the word of God, along with Gaius and Agathopus, an elect man, who has followed me from Syria, elect man, who has followed me from Syria, not regarding[1] his life, —these bear witness in your behalf; and I myself give thanks to God for you, that ye have received them, even as the Lord you. But may those that dishonoured them be forgiven through the grace of Jesus Christ! The love of the brethren at Troas salutes you; whence also I write to you by Burrhus, who was sent along with me by the Ephesians and Smyrnæans, to show their respect.[4] May the Lord Jesus Christ honour them, in whom they hope, in flesh, and soul, and faith, and love, and concord! Fare ye well in Christ Jesus, our common hope.

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[1] Literally, "for the name of."

not regarding[1] his life,—these also bear testimony in your behalf. And I myself give thanks to God for you, because ye have received them: and the Lord will also receive you. But may those that dishonoured them be forgiven through the grace of Jesus Christ, "who wisheth not the death of the sinner, but his repentance."[2] The love of the brethren at Troas salutes you; whence also I write to you by Burrhus,[3] who was sent along with me by the Ephesians and Smyrnæans, to show their respect:[4] whom the Lord Jesus Christ will requite, in whom they hope, in flesh, and soul, and spirit, and faith, and love, and concord. Fare ye well in the Lord Jesus Christ, our common hope, in the Holy Ghost.

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[1] Literally, "bidding farewell to."

[2] Comp. Ezek. xviii. 23, 32, xxxiii. 11; 2 Pet. iii. 9.

[3] The MS. has "Burgus."

[4] Or, "for the sake of honour."

THE EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS TO THE SMYRNÆANS.

Shorter.	Longer.
Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to the church of God the Father, and of the beloved Jesus Christ, which has through mercy obtained every kind of gift, which is filled with faith and love, and is deficient in no gift, most worthy of God, and adorned with holiness:[1] *the church which is at Smyrna, in Asia, wishes abundance of happiness, through the immaculate Spirit and word of God.*	*Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to the church of God the most high Father, and His beloved Son Jesus Christ, which has through mercy obtained every kind of gift, which is filled with faith and love, and is deficient in no gift, most worthy of God, and adorned with holiness: the church which is at Smyrna, in Asia, wishes abundance of happiness, through the immaculate Spirit and word of God.*

Chap. i.—*Thanks to God for your faith.*

I glorify God, even Jesus Christ, who has	I glorify the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who by

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[1] Literally, "holy-bearing."

given you such wisdom. For I have observed that ye are perfected in an immoveable faith, as if ye were nailed to the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, both in the flesh and in the spirit, and are established in love through the blood of Christ, being fully persuaded with respect to our Lord, that He was truly of the seed of David according to the flesh,[2] and the Son of God according to the will and power[3] of God; that He was truly born of a virgin, was baptized by John, in order that all righteousness might be fulfilled[4] by Him; and was truly, under Pontius Pilate and Herod the tetrarch, nailed [to the cross] for us in His flesh. Of this fruit[6] we are by His divinely-blessed passion, that He might set up a standard[7] for all ages, through His resurrec-

Him has given you such wisdom. For I have observed that ye are perfected in an immoveable faith, as if ye were nailed to the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, both in the flesh and in the spirit, and are established in love through the blood of Christ, being fully persuaded, in very truth, with respect to our Lord Jesus Christ, that He was the Son of God, "the first-born of every creature,"[1] God the Word, the only-begotten Son, and was of the seed of David according to the flesh,[2] by the Virgin Mary; was baptized by John, that all righteousness might be fulfilled[4] by Him; that He lived a life of holiness without sin, and was truly, under Pontius Pilate and Herod the tetrarch, nailed [to the cross] for us in His flesh. From whom we also derive our being,[5] from His divinely-blessed passion, that He tion, to all His holy and faithful [followers], whether among Jews or Gentiles, in the one body of His church.

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[1] Col. i. 15.

[2] Rom. i. 3.

[3] Theodoret, in quoting this passage, reads, "the Godhead and power."

[4] Matt. iii. 15.

[5] Literally, " we are.'

[6] *i.e.* the cross, "fruit" being put for *Christ on the tree.*

[7] Isa. v. 26, xlix. 22.

might set up a standard for the ages, through His resurrection, to all His holy and faithful [followers], whether among Jews or Gentiles, in the one body of His church.

CHAP. II.—*Christ's true passion.*

Now, He suffered all these things for our sakes, that we might be saved. And He suffered truly, even as also He truly raised up himself, not, as certain unbelievers maintain, that He only seemed to suffer, as they themselves only seem to be [Christians]. And as they believe, so shall it happen unto them, when they shall be divested of their bodies, and be mere evil spirits.[3]

Now, He suffered all these things for us; and He suffered them really, and not in appearance only, even as also He truly rose again. But not, as some of the unbelievers, who are ashamed of the formation of man, and the cross, and death itself, affirm, that in appearance only, and not in truth, He took a body of the Virgin, and suffered only in appearance, forgetting, as they do, Him who said, "The Word was made flesh;"[1] and again, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up;"[2] and once more, "If I be lifted up from the earth, I will draw all men unto me."[4] The Word therefore did dwell in flesh, for "Wisdom built herself an house."[5] The Word raised up again His own temple on the third day, when it had been destroyed by the Jews fighting against Christ. The Word, when His flesh was lifted up, after the manner of the brazen serpent in the wilderness, drew all men to himself for their eternal salvation.[1]

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[1] John i. 14.

[2] John ii. 19.

[3] Or, "seeing that they are phantasmal and diabolical," as some render; but the above is preferable.

[4] John xii. 32.

[5] Prov. ix. 1.

CHAP. III.—*Christ was possessed of a body after His resurrection.*

For I know that after His resurrection also He was still possessed of flesh,[2] and I believe that He is so now. When, for instance, He came to those who were with Peter, He said to them, "Lay hold, handle me, and see that I am not an incorporeal spirit."[3] And immediately they touched Him, and believed, being convinced both by His flesh and spirit. For this cause also they despised death, and were found its conquerors.[7] And after His resurrection He did eat and drink with them, as being possessed of flesh, although spiritually He was united to the Father.

And I know that He was possessed of a body not only in His being born and crucified, but I also know that He was so after His resurrection, and believe that He is so now. When, for instance, He came to those who were with Peter, He said to them, "Lay hold, handle me, and see that I am not an incorporeal spirit."[3] "For a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have."[4] And He says to Thomas, "Reach hither thy finger into the print of the nails, and reach hither thy hand, and thrust it into my side;"[5] and immediately they believed that He was Christ. Wherefore Thomas also says to Him, "My Lord, and my God."[6] And on this account also did they despise death, for it were too little to say, indignities and stripes. Nor was this all; but also after He had shown himself to them, that He had risen indeed, and not in appearance only, He both ate and drank with them during forty entire days. And thus was He, with the flesh, received up in their sight unto Him that sent Him, being with that same flesh to come again, accompanied by glory and power. For, say the [holy] oracles, "This same Jesus, who is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come, in like manner as ye have seen Him go unto heaven."[1] But if they say that He will come at the end of the world without a body, how shall those "see Him that pierced Him,"[2] and when they recognise Him, "mourn for themselves?"[3] For incorporeal beings have neither form nor figure, nor the aspect[4] of an animal possessed of shape, because their nature is in itself simple.

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[1] Num. xxi. 9; John iii. 14.

[2] Literally, "in the flesh."

[3] Literally, "demon." According to Jerome, this quotation is from the Gospel of the Nazarenes. Comp. Luke xxiv. 39.

[4] Luke xxiv. 39.

[5] John xx. 27.

[6] John xx. 28.

[7] Literally, "above death."

CHAP. IV.—*Beware of these heretics.*

I give you these instructions, beloved, assured that ye also hold the same opinions [as I do]. But I guard you beforehand from those beasts in the shape of men, whom you must not only not receive, but, if it be possible, not even meet with; only you must pray to God

I give you these instructions, beloved, assured that ye also hold the same opinions [as I do]. But I guard you beforehand from these beasts in the shape of men, from whom you must not only turn away, but even flee from them. Only you must pray for them, if by any means they may be brought to repentance. For if the Lord were in the body in appearance only, and were crucified in appearance only, for them, if by any means they may be brought to repentance, which, however, will be very difficult. Yet Jesus Christ, who is our true life, has the power of [effecting] this. But if these things were done by our Lord only in appearance, then am I also only in appearance bound. And why have I also surrendered myself to death, to fire, to the sword, to the wild beasts? But, [in fact,] he who is near to the sword is near to God; he that is among the wild beasts is in company with God; provided only he be so in the name of Jesus Christ. I undergo all things that I may suffer together with Him,[1] He who became a perfect man inwardly strengthening me.[2]

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[1] Acts i. 11.

[2] Rev. i. 7.

[3] Zech. xii. 10.

[4] Or, "mark."

then am I also bound in appearance only. And why have I also surrendered myself to death, to fire, to the sword, to the wild beasts? But, [in fact,] I endure all things for Christ, not in appearance only, but in reality, that I may suffer together with Him, while He himself inwardly strengthens me; for of myself I have no such ability.

CHAP. V.—*Their dangerous errors.*

Some ignorantly[3] deny Him, or rather have been denied by Him, being the advo-

Some have ignorantly denied Him, and advocate falsehood rather than the truth. These persons neither have the prophecies percates of death rather than of the truth. These persons neither have the prophets persuaded, nor the law of Moses, nor the gospel even to this day, nor the sufferings we have individually endured. For they think also the same thing regarding us.[1] For what does any one profit me, if he commends me, but blasphemes my Lord, not confessing that He was [truly] possessed of a body?[2] But he who does not acknowledge this, has in fact altogether denied Him, being enveloped in death.[3] I have not, however, thought good to write the names of such persons, inasmuch as they are unbelievers. Yea, far be it from me to make any mention of them, until they repent and return to [a true belief in] Christ's passion, which is our resurrection.

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[1] Comp. Rom. viii. 17.

[2] Comp. Phil. iv. 13.

[3] Or, "foolishly."

suaded, nor the law of Moses, nor the gospel even to this day, nor the sufferings we have individually endured. For they think also the same thing regarding us. For what does it profit, if any one commends me, but blasphemes my Lord, not owning Him to be God incarnate?[2] He that does not confess this, has in fact altogether denied Him, being enveloped in death. I have not, however, thought good to write the names of such persons, inasmuch as they are unbelievers; and far be it from me to make any mention of them, until they repent.

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[1] *i.e.* As they imagine Christ to have suffered only in appearance, so they believe that we suffer in vain.

[2] Literally, "a flesh-bearer."

[3] Literally, "a death-bearer."

CHAP. VI.—*Unbelievers in the blood of Christ shall be condemned.*

Let no man deceive himself. Both the things which are in heaven, and the glorious angels,[1] and rulers, both visible and invisible, if they believe not in the blood of Christ, shall, in consequence, incur condemnation.[2] "He that is able to receive it, let him receive it."[3] Let not [high] place puff any one up: for that which is worth all is[4] faith and love, to which nothing is to be preferred. But consider those who are of a dif-

Let no man deceive himself. Unless he believes that Christ Jesus has lived in the flesh, and shall confess His cross and passion, and the blood which He shed for the salvation of the world, he shall not obtain eternal life, whether he be a king, or a priest, or a ruler, or a private person, a master or a servant, a man or a woman. "He that is able to receive it, let him receive it."[3] Let no man's place, or dignity, or riches, puff him up; and let no man's low condition or poverty abase him. For the chief points are faith towards God, hope towards Christ, the enjoyment of those good things for which we look, and love towards God and our neighbour. For, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and thy neighbour as thyself."[5] And the Lord says, "This is life eternal, to know the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom He has sent."[6] And again, "A new commandment give I unto you, that ye love one another. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets."[7] Do ye, therefore, ferent opinion with respect to the grace of Christ which has come unto us, how opposed they are to the will of God. They have no regard for love; no care for the widow, or the orphan, or the oppressed; of the bond, or of the free; of the hungry, or of the thirsty.

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[1] Literally, "the glory of the angels."

[2] Literally, "judgment is to them."

[3] Matt. xix. 12.

[4] Literally, "the whole is."

[5] Deut. vi. 5.

[6] John xvii. 31.

[7] John xiii. 34; Matt. xxii. 40.

notice those who preach other doctrines, how they affirm that the Father of Christ cannot be known, and how they exhibit enmity and deceit in their dealings with one another. They have no regard for love; they despise the good things we expect hereafter; they regard present things as if they were durable; they ridicule him that is in affliction; they laugh at him that is in bonds.

CHAP. VII.—*Let us stand aloof from such heretics.*

They abstain from the Eucharist and from prayer,[1] because they confess not the Eucharist to be the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which suffered for our sins, and which the Father, of His goodness, raised up again. Those, therefore, who speak against this gift of God, incur death[5] in the midst of their disputes. But it were better for them to treat it with respect,[7] that they also

They are ashamed of the cross; they mock at the passion; they make a jest of the resurrection. They are the offspring of that spirit who is the author of all evil, who led Adam,[2] by means of his wife, to transgress the commandment, who slew Abel by the hands of Cain, who fought against Job, who was the accuser of Joshua[3] the son of Josedech, who sought to "sift the faith"[4] of the apostles, who stirred up the multitude of the Jews against the Lord, who also now "worketh in the children of disobedience;"[6] from whom the Lord Jesus Christ will deliver us, might rise again. It is fitting, therefore, that ye should keep aloof from such persons, and not to speak of[2] them either in private or in public, but to give heed to the prophets, and above all, to the gospel, in which the passion [of Christ] has been revealed to us, and the resurrection has been fully proved.[3] But avoid all divisions, as the beginning of evils.

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[1] Theodoret, in quoting this passage, reads προσφορὰς, "offering."

[2] Literally, "drove Adam out of."

[3] Zech. iii. 1.

[4] Luke xxii. 31.

[5] Literally, "die disputing."

[6] Eph. ii. 2.

[7] Literally, "to love." Some think there is a reference to the *agapæ*, or *love-feasts*.

who prayed that the faith of the apostles might not fail,[1] not because He was not able of Himself to preserve it, but because He rejoiced in the pre-eminence of the Father. It is fitting, therefore, that ye should keep aloof from such persons, and neither in private nor in public to talk with[2] them; but to give heed to the law, and the prophets, and to those who have preached to you the word of salvation. But flee from all abominable heresies, and those that cause schisms, as the beginning of evils.

CHAP. VIII.—*Let nothing be done without the bishop.*

See that ye all follow the bishop, even as Jesus Christ does the Father, and the presbytery as ye would the apostles; and reverence the deacons, as being the institution[4] of God. Let no man do anything connected with the church without the bishop. Let that be deemed a proper[5] Eucharist, which is [ad-

See that ye all follow the bishop, even as Christ Jesus does the Father, and the presbytery as ye would the apostles. Do ye also reverence the deacons, as those that carry out [through their office] the appointment of God. Let no man do anything connected with the church without the bishop. Let that be deemed a proper[5] Eucharist, which is [administered] either by the bishop, or by one to whom he has entrusted it. Wherever the bishop shall appear, there ministered] either by the bishop, or by one to whom he has entrusted it. Wherever the bishop shall appear, there let the multitude [of the people] also be; even as, wherever Jesus Christ is, there is the catholic church. It is not lawful without the bishop either to baptize or to celebrate a love-feast; but whatsoever he shall approve of, that is also pleasing to God, so that everything that is done may be secure and valid.[2]

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[1] Luke xxii. 32.

[2] The reading is περὶ in the one case, and μετὰ in the other, though the latter meaning seems preferable. Most of the MSS. of the longer recension read περί, as in the shorter.

[3] Literally, "perfected."

[4] Or, "command."

[5] Or, "firm."

let the multitude [of the people] also be; even as where Christ is, there does all the heavenly host stand by, waiting upon Him as the Chief Captain of the Lord's might, and the Governor of every intelligent nature. It is not lawful without the bishop either to baptize, or to offer, or to present sacrifice, or to celebrate a love-feast.[1] But that which seems good to him, is also well-pleasing to God, that everything ye do may be secure and valid.

CHAP. IX.—*Honour the bishop.*

Moreover,[3] it is in accordance with reason that we should return to soberness [of conduct], and, while yet we have opportunity, exercise repentance towards God. It is well to reverence[5] both God and the bishop. He who honours the bishop has been honoured by God; he who does anything without the knowledge of the bishop, does

Moreover, it is in accordance with reason that we should return to soberness [of conduct], and, while yet we have opportunity, exercise repentance towards God. For "in Hades there is no one who can confess his sins."[4] For "behold the man, and his work is before him."[6] And [the Scripture saith], "My son, honour thou God and the king."[7] And say I, Honour thou God indeed, as the Author and Lord of all things, but the bishop as the high priest, who bears the image of God—of God,

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[1] Some refer the words to the Lord's Supper.

[2] Or, "firm."

[3] Or, "finally."

[4] Ps. vi. 5.

[5] Literally, "to know."

[6] Isa. lxii. 11.

[7] Prov. xxiv. 21.

[in reality] serve the devil. Let all things, then, abound to you through grace, for ye are worthy. Ye have refreshed me in all things, and Jesus Christ [shall refresh] you. Ye have loved me when absent as well as when present. May God recompense you, for whose sake, while ye endure all things, ye shall attain unto Him.

inasmuch as he is a ruler, and of Christ, in his capacity of a priest. After Him, we must also honour the king. For there is no one superior to God, or even like to Him, among all the beings that exist. Nor is there any one in the church greater than the bishop, who ministers as a priest to God for the salvation of the whole world. Nor, again, is there any one among rulers to be compared with the king, who secures peace and good order to those over whom he rules. He who honours the bishop shall be honoured by God, even as he that dishonours him shall be punished by God. For if he that rises up against kings is justly held worthy of punishment, inasmuch as he dissolves public order, of how much sorer punishment, suppose ye, shall he be thought worthy,[1] who presumes to do anything without the bishop, thus both destroying the [church's] unity, and throwing its order into confusion? For the priesthood is the very highest point of all good things among men, against which whosoever is mad enough to strive, dishonours not man, but God, and Christ Jesus, the First-born, and the only High Priest, by nature, of the Father. Let all things therefore be done by you with good order in Christ. Let the laity be subject to the deacons; the deacons to the presbyters; the presbyters to the bishop; the bishop to Christ, even as He is to the Father. As ye, brethren, have refreshed me, so will Jesus Christ refresh you. Ye have loved me when absent, as well as when present. God will recompense you, for whose sake ye have shown such kindness towards His prisoner. For even if I am not worthy of it, yet your zeal [to help me] is an admirable[1] thing. For "he who honours a prophet in the name of a prophet, shall receive a prophet's reward."[2] It is manifest also, that he who honours a prisoner of Jesus Christ shall receive the reward of the martyrs.

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[1] Comp. Heb. x. 29.

CHAP. X.—*Acknowledgment of their kindness.*

Ye have done well in receiving Philo and Rheus Agathopus as servants[3] of Christ our God, who have followed me for the sake of God, and who give thanks to the Lord in your behalf, because ye have in every way refreshed them. None of these things shall be lost to you. May my spirit be for

Ye have done well in receiving Philo, and Gaius, and Agathopus, who, being the servants[3] of Christ, have followed me for the sake of God, and who greatly bless the Lord in your behalf, because ye have in every way refreshed them. None of those things which ye have done to them shall be passed by without being reckoned unto you. "The Lord grant" to you "that ye may find mercy of the Lord in that day!"[4] May my you,[1] and my bonds, which ye have not despised or been ashamed of; nor shall Jesus Christ, our perfect hope, be ashamed of you.

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[1] Or, "great."

[2] Matt. x. 41.

[3] Or, "deacons."

[4] 2 Tim. i. 18.

spirit be for you,[1] and my bonds, which ye have not despised or been ashamed of. Wherefore, neither shall Jesus Christ, our perfect hope, be ashamed of you.

Chap. xi.—*Request to them to send a messenger to Antioch.*

Your prayer has reached to the church which is at Antioch in Syria. Coming from that place bound with chains, most acceptable to God,[2] I salute all; I who am not worthy to be styled from thence, inasmuch as I am the least of them. Nevertheless, according to the will of God, I have been thought worthy [of this honour], not that I have any sense[3] [of having deserved it], but by the grace of God, which I wish may be perfectly given to me, that through your prayers I may attain to God. In order, therefore, that your work may be complete both

Your prayers have reached to the church of Antioch, and it is at peace. Coming from that place bound, I salute all; I who am not worthy to be styled from thence, inasmuch as I am the least of them. Nevertheless, according to the will of God, I have been thought worthy [of this honour], not that I have any sense[3] [of having deserved it], but by the grace of God, which I wish may be perfectly given to me, that through your prayers I may attain to God. In order, therefore, that your work may be complete both on earth and in heaven, it is fitting that, for the honour of God, your church should elect some worthy on earth and in heaven, it is fitting that, for the honour of God, your church should elect some worthy delegate;[1] so that he, journeying into Syria, may congratulate them that they are [now] at peace, and are restored to[2] their proper greatness, and that their proper constitution[3] has been re-established among them. It seems then to me a becoming thing, that you should send some one of your number with an epistle, so that, in company with them, he may rejoice[4] over the tranquillity which, according to the will of God, they have obtained, and because that, through your prayers, they have now reached the harbour. As persons who are perfect, ye should also aim at[5] those things which are perfect. For when ye are desirous to do well, God is also ready to assist you.

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[1] Comp. Epistle of Ignatius to Ephesians, chap. xxi.; to Polycarp, chap. ii. vi.

[2] Literally, "most becoming of God."

[3] Or, "from any conscience."

delegate;[1] so that he, journeying into Syria, may congratulate them that they are [now] at peace, and are restored to their proper greatness, and that their proper constitution[3] has been re-established among them. What appears to me proper to be done is this, that you should send some one of your number with an epistle, so that, in company with them, he may rejoice over the tranquillity which, according to the will of God, they have obtained, and because that, through your prayers, I have secured Christ as a safe harbour. As persons who are perfect, ye should also aim at[5] those things which are perfect. For when ye are desirous to do well, God is also ready to assist you.

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[1] Literally, "God-ambassador."

[2] Or, "have received."

[3] Literally, "body."

[4] Literally, "may glorify with them."

[5] Or, "think of."

CHAP. XII.—*Salutations.*

The love of the brethren at Troas salutes you; whence also I write to you by Burrhus, whom ye sent with me, together with the Ephesians, your brethren, and who has in all things refreshed me. And I would that all may imitate him, as being a pattern of a minister[1] of God. Grace will reward him in all things. I salute your most worthy[2] bishop, and your very venerable[3] presbytery, and your deacons, my fellow-servants, and all of you individually, as well as generally, in the name of Jesus Christ, and in His flesh and blood, in His passion and resurrection, both corporeal and spiritual, in union with God and you.[4] Grace, mercy, peace, and patience, be with you for evermore!

The love of your brethren at Troas salutes you; whence also I write to you by Burgus, whom ye sent with me, together with the Ephesians, your brethren, and who has in all things refreshed me. And I would that all may imitate him, as being a pattern of a minister of God. The grace of the Lord will reward him in all things. I salute your most worthy bishop Polycarp, and your venerable presbytery, and your Christ-bearing deacons, my fellow-servants, and all of you individually, as well as generally, in the name of Christ Jesus, and in His flesh and blood, in His passion and resurrection, both corporeal and spiritual, in union with God and you. Grace, mercy, peace, and patience, be with you in Christ for evermore!

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[1] Or, "the ministry."

[2] Literally, "worthy of God."

[3] Literally, "most becoming of God."

[4] Literally, "in the union of God and of you."

Conclusion.

I salute the families of my brethren, with their wives and children, and the virgins who are called widows.[1] Be ye strong, I pray, in the power of the Holy Ghost. Philo, who is with me, greets you. I salute the house of Tavias, and pray that it may be confirmed in faith and love, both corporeal and spiritual. I salute Alce, my well-beloved,[2] and the incomparable Daphnus, and Eutecnus, and all by name. Fare ye well in the grace of God.

I salute the families of my brethren, with their wives and children, and those that are ever virgins, and the widows. Be ye strong, I pray, in the power of the Holy Ghost. Philo, my fellow-servant, who is with me, greets you. I salute the house of Tavias, and pray that it may be confirmed in faith and love, both corporeal and spiritual. I salute Alce, my well-beloved,[1] and the incomparable Daphnus, and Eutecnus, and all by name. Fare ye well in the grace of God, and of our Lord Jesus Christ, being filled with the Holy Spirit, and divine and sacred wisdom.

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[1] The *deaconesses* seem to have been called *widows.*

[2] Literally, "the name desired of me."

THE EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS TO POLYCARP.

SHORTER.

Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to Polycarp, bishop of the church of the Smyrnæans, or rather, who has, as his own bishop, God the Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ: [wishes] abundance of happiness.

LONGER.

Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, and a witness for Jesus Christ, to Polycarp, bishop of the church of the Smyrnæans, or rather, who has, as his own bishop, God the Father, and Jesus Christ: [wishes] abundance of happiness.

CHAP. I.—*Commendation and exhortation.*

Having obtained good proof that thy mind is fixed in God as upon an immoveable rock, I loudly glorify [His name] that I have been thought worthy [to behold] thy blameless face,[1] which may I ever enjoy in God! I entreat

Having obtained good proof that thy mind is fixed in God as upon an immoveable rock, I loudly glorify [His name] that I have been thought worthy to behold thy blameless face,[1] which may I ever enjoy in God! I entreat thee, by the grace with which thou art clothed, to press forward in thy course, and to exhort all that they thee, by the grace with which thou art clothed, to press forward in thy course, and to exhort all that they may be saved. Maintain thy position with all care, both in the flesh and spirit. Have a regard to preserve unity, than which nothing is better. Bear with all, even as the Lord does with thee. Support[1] all in love, as also thou doest. Give thyself to prayer without ceasing.[2] Implore additional understanding to what thou already hast. Be watchful, possessing a sleepless spirit. Speak to every man separately, as God enables thee.[3] Bear the infirmities of all, as being a perfect athlete [in the Christian life]: where the labour is great, the gain is all the more.

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[1] *i.e.* to make personal acquaintance with one esteemed so highly.

may be saved. Maintain thy position with all care, both in the flesh and spirit. Have a regard to preserve unity, than which nothing is better. Bear with all, even as the Lord does with thee. Support[1] all in love, as also thou doest. Give thyself to prayer without ceasing.[2] Implore additional understanding to what thou already hast. Be watchful, possessing a sleepless spirit. Speak to every man separately, as God enables thee.[3] Bear the infirmities of all, as being a perfect athlete [in the Christian life], even as does the Lord of all. For says [the Scripture], "He Himself took our infirmities, and bare our sicknesses."[4] Where the labour is great, the gain is all the more.

CHAP. II.—*Exhortations.*

If thou lovest the good disciples, no thanks are due to thee on that

If thou lovest the good disciples, no thanks are due to thee on that account; but rather seek by meek-account; but rather seek by meekness to subdue the more troublesome. Every kind of wound is not healed with the same plaster. Mitigate violent attacks [of disease] by gentle applications.[1] Be in all things "wise as a serpent, and harmless as a dove."[2] For this purpose thou art composed of both flesh and spirit, that thou mayest deal tenderly[3] with those [evils] that present themselves visibly before thee. And as respects those that are not seen,[4] pray that [God] would reveal them unto thee, in order that thou mayest be wanting in nothing, but mayest abound in every gift. The times call for thee, as pilots do for the winds, and as one tossed with tempest seeks for the haven, so that both thou [and those under thy care] may attain to God. Be sober as an athlete of

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[1] Or, "tolerate."

[2] Comp. 1 Thess. v. 17.

[3] Some read, "according to thy practice."

[4] Matt. viii. 17.

ness to subdue the more troublesome. Every kind of wound is not healed with the same plaster. Mitigate violent attacks [of disease] by gentle applications.[1] Be in all things "wise as a serpent, and harmless always as a dove."[2] For this purpose thou art composed of both soul and body, art both fleshly and spiritual, that thou mayest correct those [evils] that present themselves visibly before thee; and as respects those that are not seen, mayest pray that these should be revealed to thee, so that thou mayest be wanting in nothing, but mayest abound in every gift. The times call upon thee to pray. For as the wind aids the pilot of a ship, and as havens are advantageous for safety to a tempest-tossed vessel, so is also prayer to thee, in order that thou mayest attain to God. Be sober as an athlete of God, whose will is immortality and eternal life; of which thou art also

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[1] Literally, "paroxysms by embrocations."

[2] Matt. x. 16.

[3] Literally, "flatter."

[4] Some refer this to the mysteries of God, and others to things yet future.

God: the prize set before thee is immortality and eternal life, of which thou art also persuaded. In all things may my soul be for thine,[1] and my bonds also, which thou hast loved.

persuaded. In all things may my soul be for thine,[1] and my bonds also, which thou hast loved.

CHAP. III.—*Exhortations.*

Let not those who seem worthy of credit, but teach strange doctrines,[2] fill thee with apprehension. Stand firm, as does an anvil which is beaten. It is the part of a noble[3] athlete to be wounded, and yet to conquer. And especially, we ought to bear all things for the sake of God, that He also may bear with us. Be ever becoming more zealous than what thou art. Weigh carefully the times. Look for Him who is above all time, eternal and invisible, yet who became visible for our sakes; impalpable and impassible, yet who became

Let not those who seem worthy of credit, but teach strange doctrines,[2] fill thee with apprehension. Stand firm, as does an anvil which is beaten. It is the part of a noble[3] athlete to be wounded, and yet to conquer. And especially we ought to bear all things for the sake of God, that He also may bear with us, and bring us into His kingdom. Add more and more to thy diligence; run thy race with increasing energy; weigh carefully the times. Whilst thou art here, be a conqueror; for here is the course, and there are the crowns. Look for Christ, the Son of God; who was before time, yet appeared in time; who was invisible by nature, yet visible in the flesh; who was impalpable, and could not be touched, as being without a body, but for our sakes became such, might be touched and handled in

[1] Comp. Epistle of Ignatius to the Ephesians, chap. xxi. etc.

[2] Comp. 1 Tim. i. 3, vi. 3.

[3] Literally, "great."

passible on our account; and who in every kind of way suffered for our sakes.

the body; who was impassible as God, but became passible for our sakes as man; and who in every kind of way suffered for our sakes.

CHAP. IV.—*Exhortations.*

Let not widows be neglected. Be thou, after the Lord, their protector[1] and friend. Let nothing be done without thy consent; neither do thou anything without the approval of God, which indeed thou dost not, inasmuch as thou art stedfast. Let your assembling together be of frequent[2] occurrence: seek after all by name.[3] Do not despise either male or female slaves, yet neither let them be puffed up with conceit, but rather let them submit themselves[4] the more, for the glory of God, that they may obtain from God a better liberty. Let them

Let not the widows be neglected Be thou, after the Lord, their protector and friend. Let nothing be done without thy consent; neither do thou anything without the approval of God, which indeed thou doest not. Be thou stedfast. Let your assembling together be of frequent[2] occurrence: seek after all by name.[3] Do not despise either male or female slaves, yet neither let them be puffed up with conceit, but rather let them submit themselves[4] the more, for the glory of God, that they may obtain from not long to be set free [from slavery] at the public expense, that they be not found slaves to their own desires.

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[1] The word in the original (φροντιστὴς) denotes one who *thinks* or *cares* for another.

[2] Some refer the words to more *frequent* meetings, and others to these meetings being more numerous; no comparison is necessarily implied.

[3] *i.e.* so as to bring them out to the public assembly.

[4] Or, "act the part of slaves."

God a better liberty. Let them not wish to be set free [from slavery] at the public expense, that they be not found slaves to their own desires.

CHAP. V.—*The duties of husbands and wives.*

Flee evil arts; but all the more discourse in public regarding them.[1] Speak to my sisters, that they love the Lord, and be satisfied with their husbands both in the flesh and spirit. In like manner also, exhort my brethren, in the name of Jesus Christ, that they love their wives, even as the Lord the church.[2] If any one can continue in a state of purity,[3] to the honour of Him who is Lord of the flesh,[4] let him so remain without boasting. If he begins to boast, he is undone; and if he reckon himself greater than the bishop, he is ruined. But it becomes both men and

Flee evil arts; but all the more discourse in public regarding them. Speak to my sisters, that they love the Lord, and be satisfied with their husbands both in the flesh and spirit. In like manner also, exhort my brethren, in the name of Jesus Christ, that they love their wives, even as the Lord the church. If any one can continue in a state of purity,[3] to the honour of the flesh of the Lord, let him so remain without boasting. If he shall boast, he is undone; and if he seeks to be more prominent[5] than the bishop, he is ruined. But it becomes both men and women

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[1] Some insert μὴ, and render, "rather do not even speak of them."

[2] Eph. v. 25.

[3] *i.e.* in celibacy.

[4] Some render, "to the honour of the flesh of the Lord," as in the longer recension.

[5] Literally, "if he be known beyond the bishop."

women who marry, to form their union with the approval of the bishop, that their marriage may be according to God, and not after their own lust. Let all things be done to the honour of God.[1]

who marry, to form their union with the approval of the bishop, that their marriage may be according to the Lord, and not after their own lust. Let all things be done to the honour of God.[1]

CHAP. VI.—*The duties of the Christian flock.*

Give ye[2] heed to the bishop, that God also may give heed to you. My soul be for theirs[3] that are submissive to the bishop, to the presbyters, and to the deacons, and may my portion be along with them in God! Labour together with one another; strive in company together; run together; suffer together; sleep together; and awake together, as the stewards, and associates,[4] and servants of God. Please ye Him under whom ye fight, and from whom ye receive your wages. Let none of you be

Give ye[2] heed to the bishop, that God also may give heed to you. My soul be for theirs[3] that are submissive to the bishop, to the presbytery, and to the deacons: may I have my portion with them from God! Labour together with one another; strive in company together; run together; suffer together; sleep together; and awake together, as the stewards, and associates,[4] and servants of God. Please ye Him under whom ye fight, and from whom ye shall receive your wages. Let none of you be found a deserter. Let your baptism endure as your arms; your faith as your helmet; your love as your spear; your patience as a complete panoply. Let your works be the charge assigned to you, that you may obtain for them found a deserter. Let your baptism endure as your arms; your faith as your helmet; your love as your spear; your patience as a complete panoply. Let your works be the charge[2] assigned to you, that ye may receive a worthy recompense. Be long-suffering, therefore, with one another, in meekness, as God is towards you. May I have joy of you for ever![3]

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[1] Comp. 1 Cor. x. 31.

[2] As this epistle, though sent to the bishop, was meant to be read to the people, Ignatius here directly addresses them.

[3] Comp. chap. ii. etc.

[4] Or, "assessors."

a most worthy[1] recompense. Be long-suffering, therefore, with one another, in meekness, and God shall be so with you. May I have joy of you for ever!

CHAP. VII.—*Request that Polycarp would send a messenger to Antioch.*

Seeing that the church which is at Antioch in Syria is, as report has informed me, at peace, through your prayers, I also am the more encouraged, resting without anxiety in God,[4] if indeed by means of suffering I may attain to God, so that, through your prayers, I may be found

Seeing that the church which is at Antioch in Syria is, as report has informed me, at peace, through your prayers, I also am the more encouraged, resting without anxiety in God,[4] if indeed by means of suffering I may attain to God, so that, through your prayers, I may a disciple [of Christ].[1] It is fitting, O Polycarp, most blessed in God, to assemble a very solemn[2] council, and to elect one whom you greatly love, and know to be a man of activity, who may be designated the messenger of God;[3] and to bestow on him this honour that he may go into Syria, and glorify your ever active love to the praise of Christ. A Christian has not power over himself, but must always be ready for[4] the service of God. Now, this work is both God's and yours, when ye shall have completed it to His glory.[5] For I trust that, through grace, ye are prepared for every good work pertaining to God. Knowing, therefore, your energetic love of the truth, I have exhorted you by this brief epistle.

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[1] Literally, "worthy of God."

[2] A military reference, simply implying the idea of faithful effort leading to future reward.

[3] Comp. Ignatius' Epistle to the Ephesians, chap. ii.

[4] Literally, "in freedom from care of God."

be found a disciple [of Christ]. It is fitting, O Polycarp, most blessed in God, to assemble a very solemn[2] council, and to elect one whom you greatly love, and know to be a man of activity, who may be designated the messenger of God;[3] and to bestow on him the honour of going into Syria, so that, going into Syria, he may glorify your ever active love to the praise of God. A Christian has not power over himself, but must always be ready for[4] the service of God. Now, this work is both God's and yours, when ye shall have completed it. For I trust that, through grace, ye are prepared for every good work pertaining to God. Knowing your energetic love of the truth, I have exhorted you by this brief epistle.

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[1] Some read, "in the resurrection."

[2] Literally, "most befitting God."

[3] Literally, "God-runner."

[4] Literally, "at leisure for."

[5] Literally, "to Him."

CHAP. VIII.—*Let other churches also send to Antioch.*

Inasmuch as I have not been able to write to all the churches, because I must suddenly sail from Troas to Neapolis, as the will[1] [of the emperor] enjoins, [I beg that] thou, as being acquainted with the purpose[2] of God, wilt write to the adjacent churches, that they also may act in like manner, such as are able to do so sending messengers,[3] and the others transmitting letters through those persons who are sent by thee, that thou[4] mayest be glorified by a work[5] which shall be remembered for ever, as indeed thou art worthy to be. I salute all by name, and in particular the wife of Epitropus, with all her house and children. I salute Attalus, my beloved. I salute him who shall be deemed

Inasmuch, therefore, as I have not been able to write to all churches, because I must suddenly sail from Troas to Neapolis, as the will[1] [of the emperor] enjoins, [I beg that] thou, as being acquainted with the purpose[2] of God, wilt write to the adjacent churches, that they also may act in like manner, such as are able to do so sending messengers, and the others transmitting letters through those persons who are sent by thee, that thou mayest be glorified by a work[5] which shall be remembered for ever, as indeed thou art worthy to be. I salute all by name, and in particular the wife of Epitropus, with all her house and children. I salute Attalus, my beloved. I salute him who shall be deemed worthy to go [from you] into Syria. Grace shall be with him for ever, and with Polycarp that sends him. I pray for your happiness for ever in our God, Jesus Christ, by whom continue ye in the unity and under the protection of God.[1] I salute Alce, my dearly beloved.[2] Fare ye well in the Lord.

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[1] Some suppose the reference to be to the soldiers, or perhaps to God Himself.

[2] Or, "as possessed of the judgment."

[3] Literally, "men on foot."

[4] Some have the plural "ye" here.

[5] Literally, "an eternal work."

worthy to go [from you] into Syria. Grace shall be with him for ever, and with Polycarp that sends him. I pray for your happiness for ever in our God, Jesus Christ, by whom continue ye in the unity and under the protection of God. I salute Alce, my dearly beloved.[2] Amen. Grace [be with you]. Fare ye well in the Lord.

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[1] Some propose to read, "and of the bishop."

[2] Literally, "name desired by me."

THE EPISTLES OF IGNATIUS

AFTER THE SYRIAC VERSION.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

SOME account of the discovery of the Syriac version of the Ignatian Epistles has been already given (p. 141). We have simply to add here a brief description of the MSS. from which the Syriac text has been printed. That which is named *α* by Cureton, contains only the Epistle to Polycarp, and exhibits the text of that epistle which, after him, we have followed. He fixes its age somewhere in the first half of the sixth century, or before the year 550. The second MS., which Cureton refers to as *β*, is assigned by him to the seventh or eighth century. It contains the three Epistles of Ignatius, and furnishes the text here followed in the Epistles to the Ephesians and Romans. The third MS., which Cureton quotes as *γ*, has no date, but, as he tells us, "belonged to the collection acquired by Moses of Nisibis in A.D. 931, and was written apparently about three or four centuries earlier." It contains the three epistles to Polycarp, the Ephesians, and the Romans. The text of all these MSS. is in several passages manifestly corrupt, and the translators appear at times to have mistaken the meaning of the Greek original.

THE EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS TO POLYCARP.[1]

IGNATIUS, *who is* [*also called*] *Theophorus, to Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, or rather, who has as his own bishop God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ:* [*wishes*] *abundance of happiness.*

CHAP. I.

Because thy mind is acceptable to me, inasmuch as it is established in God, as on a rock which is immoveable, I glorify God the more exceedingly that I have been counted worthy of [seeing] thy face, which I longed after in God. Now I beseech thee, by the grace with which thou art clothed, to add [speed] to thy course, and that thou ever pray for all men that they may be saved, and that thou demand[2] things which are befitting, with all assiduity both of the flesh and spirit. Be studious of unity, than which nothing is more precious. Bear with all men, even as our Lord beareth with thee. Show patience[3] with all men in love, as [indeed] thou doest. Be stedfast in prayer. Ask for more understanding than that which thou [already] hast. Be watchful, as possessing a spirit which sleepeth not. Speak with every man according to the will of God. Bear the infirmities of all men as a perfect athlete; for where the labour is great, the gain is also great.

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[1] The inscription varies in each of the three Syriac MSS., being in the first, "The Epistle of my lord Ignatius the bishop;" in the second, "The Epistle of Ignatius;" and in the third, "The Epistle of Ignatius, bishop of Antioch."

[2] For "vindicate thy place" in the Greek.

[3] Literally, "draw out thy spirit."

CHAP. II.

If thou lovest the good disciples only, thou hast no grace; [but] rather subdue those that are evil by gentleness. All [sorts of] wounds are not healed by the same medicine. Mitigate [the pain of] cutting[1] by tenderness. Be wise as the serpent in everything, and innocent, with respect to those things which are requisite, even as the dove. For this reason thou art [composed] of both flesh and spirit, that thou mayest entice[2] those things which are visible before thy face, and mayest ask, as to those which are concealed from thee, that they [too] may be revealed to thee, in order that thou be deficient in nothing, and mayest abound in all gifts. The time demands, even as a pilot does a ship, and as one who stands exposed to the tempest does a haven, that thou shouldst be worthy of God. Be thou watchful as an athlete of God. That which is promised to us is life eternal, which cannot be corrupted, of which things thou art also persuaded. In everything I will be instead[3] of thy soul, and my bonds which thou hast loved.

CHAP. III.

Let not those who seem to be somewhat, and teach strange doctrines, strike thee with apprehension; but stand thou in the truth, as an athlete[4] who is smitten, for it is [the part] of a great athlete to be smitten, and [yet] conquer. More especially is it fitting that we should bear everything for the sake of God, that He also may bear us. Be [still] more diligent than thou yet art. Be discerning of the times. Look for Him that is above the times, Him who has no times, Him who is invisible, Him who for our sakes became visible, Him who is impalpable, Him who is impassible, Him who for our sakes suffered, Him who endured everything in every form for our sakes.

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[1] Cureton observes, as one alternative here, that "the Syrian translator seems to have read παράξυσμα for παροξυσμοὺς."

[2] Or, "flatter," probably meaning to "deal gently with."

[3] Thus the Syriac renders ἀντίψυχον in the Greek.

[4] The Greek has ἄκμων, "an anvil."

CHAP. IV.

Let not the widows be overlooked; on account of[1] our Lord be thou their guardian, and let nothing be done without thy will; also do thou nothing without the will of God, as indeed thou doest not. Stand rightly. Let there be frequent[2] assemblies: ask every man [to them] by his name. Despise not slaves, either male or female; but neither let them be contemptuous, but let them labour the more as for the glory of God, that they may be counted worthy of a more precious freedom, which is of God. Let them not desire to be set free out of the common [fund], lest they be found the slaves of lusts.

CHAP. V.

Flee wicked arts; but all the more discourse regarding them. Speak to my sisters, that they love in our Lord, and that their husbands be sufficient for them in the flesh and spirit. Then, again, charge my brethren in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that they love their wives, as our Lord His church. If any man is able in power to continue in purity,[3] to the honour of the flesh of our Lord, let him continue so without boasting; if he boasts, he is undone; if he become known apart from the bishop, he has destroyed himself.[4] It is becoming, therefore, to men and women who marry, that they marry with the counsel of the bishop, that the marriage may be in our Lord, and not in lust. Let everything, therefore, be [done] for the honour of God.

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[1] The Greek has μετά, "after."

[2] Or, "constant," "regular."

[3] *i.e.* "in celibacy."

[4] Or, "corrupted himself."

CHAP. VI.

Look ye to the bishop, that God also may look upon you. I will be instead of the souls of those who are subject to the bishop, and the presbyters, and the deacons; with them may I have a portion in the presence of God! Labour together with one another, act as athletes[1] together, run together, suffer together, sleep together, rise together. As stewards of God, and of His household,[2] and His servants, please Him and serve Him, that ye may receive from Him the wages [promised]. Let none of you be rebellious. Let your baptism be to you as armour, and faith as a spear, and love as a helmet, and patience as a panoply. Let your treasures be your good works, that ye may receive the gift of God, as is just. Let your spirit be long-suffering towards each other with meekness, even as God [is] towards you. As for me, I rejoice in you at all times.

CHAP. VII.

The Christian has not power over himself, but is [ever] ready to be subject to God.[3]

CHAP. VIII.

I salute him who is reckoned worthy to go to Antioch in my stead, as I commanded thee.[3]

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[1] Literally, "make the contest."

[2] Literally, "sons of His house."

[3] These are the only parts of chaps. vii. and viii. in the Greek that are represented in the Syriac.

THE SECOND EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS: TO THE EPHESIANS.[1]

IGNATIUS, *who is [also called] Theophorus, to the church which is blessed in the greatness of God the Father, and perfected; to her who was selected*[2] *from eternity, that she might be at all times for glory, which abideth, and is unchangeable, and is perfected and chosen in the purpose of truth by the will of the Father of Jesus Christ our God; to her who is worthy of happiness; to her who is at Ephesus, in Jesus Christ, in joy which is unblameable: [wishes] abundance of happiness.*

CHAP. I.

Inasmuch as your name, which is greatly beloved, is acceptable to me in God, [your name] which ye have acquired by nature, through a right and just will, and also by the faith and love of Jesus Christ our Saviour, and ye are imitators of God, and are fervent in the blood of God, and have speedily completed a work congenial to you; [for] when ye heard that I was bound,[3] so as to be able to do nothing for the sake of the common name and hope (and I hope, through your prayers, that I may be devoured by beasts at Rome, so that by means of this of which I have been accounted worthy, I may be endowed with strength to be a disciple of God), ye were diligent to come and see me. Seeing, then, that we have become acquainted with your multitude[1] in the name of God, by Onesimus, who is your bishop, in love which is unutterable, whom I pray that ye love in Jesus Christ our Lord, and that all of you imitate his example;[2] for blessed is He who has given you such a bishop, even as ye deserve [to have].[3]

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[1] Another inscription is, "Epistle the second, which is to the Ephesians."

[2] Literally, "separated."

[3] Literally, "bound from actions."

CHAP. III.[4]

But inasmuch as love does not permit me to be silent in regard to you, on this account I have been forward to entreat of you that ye would be diligent in the will of God.

CHAP. VIII.[5]

For, so long as there is not implanted in you any one lust which is able to torment you, behold, ye live in God. I rejoice in you, and offer supplication[6] on account of you, Ephesians, a church which is renowned in all ages. For those who are carnal are not able to do spiritual things, nor those that are spiritual carnal things; in like manner as neither can faith [do] those things which are foreign to faith, nor want of faith [do] what belongs to faith. For those things which ye have done in the flesh, even these are spiritual, because ye have done everything in Jesus Christ.

CHAP. IX.

And ye are prepared for the building of God the Father, and ye are raised up on high by the instrument of Jesus Christ, which is the cross; and ye are drawn by the rope, which is the Holy Spirit; and your pulley is your faith, and your love is the way which leadeth up on high to God.

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[1] Cureton renders, "have received your abundance," probably referring the words to gifts sent by the Ephesians to Ignatius.

[2] Literally, "be in his image."

[3] There is no apodosis, unless it be found in what follows.

[4] The following clause is the whole of chap. iii. in the Greek, which is represented in the Syriac.

[5] Chaps. iv. v. vi. vii. of the Greek are totally omitted in the Syriac.

[6] Thus Cureton renders the words, referring in confirmation to the Peshito version of Phil. i. 4, but the meaning is doubtful.

CHAP. X.

Pray for all men; for there is hope of repentance for them, that they may be counted worthy of God. By your works especially let them be instructed. Against their harsh words be ye conciliatory, by meekness of mind and gentleness. Against their blasphemies do ye give yourselves to prayer; and against their error be ye armed with faith. Against their fierceness be ye peaceful and quiet, and be ye not astounded by them. Let us, then, be imitators of our Lord in meekness, and strive who shall more especially be injured, and oppressed, and defrauded.

CHAP. XIV.[1]

The work is not of promise,[2] unless a man be found in the power of faith, even to the end.

CHAP. XV.

It is better that a man should be silent while he is something, than that he should be talking when he is not; that by those things which he speaks he should act, and by those things of which he is silent he should be known.

CHAP. XVIII.[3]

My spirit bows in adoration to the cross, which is a stumbling-block to those who do not believe, but is to you for salvation and eternal life.

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[1] Chaps. xi. xii. xiii. of the Greek are totally wanting in the Syriac, and only these few words of chaps. xiv. and xv. are represented.

[2] The meaning seems to be that mere profession, without continuous practice, is nothing.

[3] Chaps. xvi. and xvii. of the Greek are totally wanting in the Syriac.

Chap. xix.

There was concealed from the ruler of this world the virginity of Mary and the birth of our Lord, and the three renowned mysteries[1] which were done in the tranquillity of God from the star. And here, at the manifestation of the Son, magic began to be destroyed, and all bonds were loosed; and the ancient kingdom and the error of evil was destroyed. Henceforward all things were moved together, and the destruction of death was devised, and there was the commencement of that which was perfected in God.

. . . .[2]

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[1] Literally, "the mysteries of the shout." The meaning is here confused and obscure. See the Greek.

[2] Chaps. xx. and xxi. of the Greek are altogether wanting in the Syriac.

THE THIRD EPISTLE OF THE SAME ST IGNATIUS.[1]

IGNATIUS, *who is [also called] Theophorus, to the church which has received grace through the greatness of the Father Most High; to her who presideth in the place of the region of the Romans, who is worthy of God, and worthy of life, and happiness, and praise, and remembrance, and is worthy of prosperity, and presideth in love, and is perfected in the law of Christ unblameable: [wishes] abundance of peace.*

Chap. i.

From of old have I prayed to God, that I might be counted worthy to behold your faces which are worthy of God: now, therefore, being bound in Jesus Christ, I hope to meet you and salute you, if it be the will [of God] that I should be accounted worthy to the end. For the beginning is well arranged, if I be counted worthy to attain to the end, that I may receive my portion, without hindrance, through suffering. For I am in fear of your love, lest it should injure me. As to you, indeed, it is easy for you to do whatsoever ye wish; but as to me, it is difficult for me to be accounted worthy of God, if indeed ye spare me not.

Chap. ii.

For there is no other time such as this, that I should be accounted worthy of God; neither will ye, if ye be silent,

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[1] Another inscription is, "The Third Epistle."

[ever] be found in a better work than this. If ye let me alone, I shall be the word of God; but if ye love my flesh, again am I [only] to myself a voice. Ye cannot give me anything more precious than this, that I should be sacrificed to God, while the altar is ready; that ye may be in one concord in love, and may praise God the Father through Jesus Christ our Lord, because He has deemed a bishop worthy to be God's, having called him from the east to the west. It is good that I should set from the world in God, that I may rise in Him to life.[1]

Chap. III.

Ye have never envied any man. Ye have taught others. Only pray ye for strength to be given to me from within and from without, that I may not only speak, but also may be willing, and that I may not merely be called a Christian, but also may be found to be [one]; for if I am found to be [so], I may then also be called [so]. Then [indeed] shall I be faithful, when I am no longer seen in the world. For there is nothing visible that is good. The work is not [a matter[2]] of persuasion; but Christianity is great when the world hateth it.

Chap. IV.

I write to all the churches, and declare to all men, that I willingly die for the sake of God, if so be that ye hinder me not. I entreat of you not to be [affected] towards me with a love which is unseasonable. Leave me to become [the prey of] the beasts, that by their means I may be accounted worthy of God. I am the wheat of God, and by the teeth of the beasts I shall be ground,[3] that I may be found the pure bread of God. Provoke ye greatly[4] the wild beasts, that they may be for me a grave, and may leave nothing of my body, in order that, when I have fallen asleep, I may not be a burden upon any one. Then shall I be in truth a disciple of Jesus Christ, when the world seeth not even my body. Entreat of our Lord in my behalf, that through these instruments I may be found a sacrifice to God. I do not, like Peter and Paul, issue orders unto you. They are[1] apostles, but I am one condemned; they indeed are free, but I am a slave, even until now. But if I suffer, I shall be the freed-man of Jesus Christ, and I shall rise in Him from the dead, free. And now being in bonds, I learn to desire nothing.

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[1] Literally, "in life."

[2] The meaning is probably similar to that expressed in chap. xiv. of the Epistle to the Ephesians.

[3] Literally, "I am ground."

[4] Literally, "with provoking, provoke."

CHAP. V.

From Syria, and even unto Rome, I am cast among wild beasts, by sea and by land, by night and by day, being bound between ten leopards, which are the band of soldiers, who, even when I do good to them, all the more do evil unto me. I, however, am the rather instructed by their injurious treatment;[2] but not on this account am I justified to myself. I rejoice in the beasts which are prepared for me, and I pray that they may in haste be found for me; and I will provoke them speedily to devour me, and not be as those which are afraid of some other men,[3] and will not approach them: even should they not be willing to approach me, I will go with violence against them. Know me from myself what is expedient for me.[4] Let no one[5] envy me of those things which are seen and which are not seen, that I should be accounted worthy of Jesus Christ. Fire, and the cross, and the beasts that are prepared, cutting off of the limbs, and scattering of the bones, and crushing of the whole body, harsh torments of the devil—let these come upon me, but[1] only let me be accounted worthy of Jesus Christ.

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[1] Literally, "they are who are."

[2] Literally, "by their injury."

[3] Literally, "and not as that which is afraid of some other men." So Cureton translates, but remarks that the passage is evidently corrupt. The reference plainly is to the fact that the beasts sometimes refused to attack their intended victims. See the case of Blandina, as reported by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* v. 1).

[4] Cureton renders interrogatively, "What is expedient for me?" and remarks that "the meaning of the Syriac appears to be, 'I crave your indulgence to leave the knowledge of what is expedient for me to my own conscience.'"

[5] Literally, "nothing."

CHAP. VI.

The pains of the birth stand over against me.[2]

CHAP. VII.

And my love is crucified, and there is no fire in me for another love. I do not desire the food of corruption, neither the lusts of this world. I seek the bread of God, which is the flesh of Jesus Christ; and I seek His blood, a drink which is love incorruptible.

CHAP. IX.[3]

My spirit saluteth you, and the love of the churches which received me as the name of Jesus Christ; for those also who were near to [my] way in the flesh, preceded me in every city.

[4][Now therefore, being about to arrive shortly in Rome, I

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[1] Literally, "and."

[2] The Latin version translates the Greek here, "He adds gain to me."

[3] Chap. viii. of the Greek is entirely omitted in the Syriac.

[4] The following passage is not found in this epistle in the Greek recensions, but forms, in substance, chaps. iv. and v. of the Epistle to the Trallians. Diverse views are held by critics as to its proper place, according to the degree of authority they ascribe to the Syriac version. Cureton maintains that this passage has been transferred by the forger of the Epistle to the Trallians, "to give a fair colour to the fabrication by introducing a part of the genuine writing of Ignatius;" while Hefele asserts that it is bound by the "closest connection" to the preceding chapter in the Epistle to the Trallians.

know many things in God; but I keep myself within measure, that I may not perish through boasting: for now it is needful for me to fear the more, and not pay regard to those who puff me up. For they who say such things to me scourge me; for I desire to suffer, but I do not know if I am worthy. For zeal is not visible to many, but with me it has war. I have need, therefore, of meekness, by which the prince of this world is destroyed. I am able to write to you of heavenly things, but I fear lest I should do you an injury. Know me from myself. For I am cautious lest ye should not be able to receive [such knowledge], and should be perplexed. For even I, not because I am in bonds, and am able to know heavenly things, and the places of angels, and the stations of the powers that are seen and that are not seen, am on this account a disciple; for I am far short of the perfection which is worthy of God.] Be ye perfectly strong[1] in the patience of Jesus Christ our God.

Here end the three epistles of Ignatius, bishop and martyr.

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[1] Or, as in the Greek, "Fare ye well, to the end."

THE MARTYRDOM OF IGNATIUS.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

THE following account of the martyrdom of Ignatius professes, in several passages, to have been written by those who accompanied him on his voyage to Rome, and were present on the occasion of his death (chaps. v. vi. vii.). And if the genuineness of this narrative, as well as of the Ignatian epistles, be admitted, there can be little doubt that the persons in question were Philo and Agathopus, with Crocus perhaps, all of whom are mentioned by Ignatius (*Epist. to Smyr.* chap. x.; *to Philad.* chap. xi.; *to Rom.* chap. x.) as having attended him on that journey to Rome which resulted in his martyrdom. But doubts have been started by Daillé and others as to the date and authorship of this account. Some of these rest upon internal considerations, but the weightiest objection is found in the fact that no reference to this narrative is to be traced during the first six centuries of our era. This is certainly a very suspicious circumstance, and may well give rise to some hesitation in ascribing the authorship to the immediate companions and friends of Ignatius. On the other hand, however, this account of the death of Ignatius is in perfect harmony with the particulars recounted by Eusebius and Chrysostom regarding him. Its comparative simplicity, too, is greatly in its favour. It makes no reference to the legends which by and by connected themselves with the name of Ignatius. As is well known, he came in course of time to be identified with the child whom Christ (Matt. xviii. 2) set before His disciples as a pattern of humility. It was said that the Saviour took him up in His arms, and that hence

Ignatius derived his name of *Theophorus;* that is, according to the explanation which this legend gives of the word, *one carried by God.* But in chap. ii. of the following narrative we find the term explained to mean, "one who has Christ in his breast;" and this simple explanation, with the entire silence preserved as to the marvels afterwards connected with the name of Ignatius, is certainly a strong argument in favour of the early date and probable genuineness of the account. Some critics, such as Usher and Grabe, have reckoned the latter part of the narrative spurious, while accepting the former; but there appears to be a unity about it which requires us either to accept it *in toto,* or to reject it altogether.

THE MARTYRDOM OF IGNATIUS.

CHAP. I.—*Desire of Ignatius for martyrdom.*

WHEN Trajan, not long since,[1] succeeded to the empire of the Romans, Ignatius, the disciple of John the apostle, a man in all respects of an apostolic character, governed the church of the Antiochians with great care, having with difficulty escaped the former storms of the many persecutions under Domitian, inasmuch as, like a good pilot, by the helm of prayer and fasting, by the earnestness of his teaching, and by his [constant[2]] spiritual labour, he resisted the flood that rolled against him, fearing [only] lest he should lose any of those who were deficient in courage, or apt to suffer from their simplicity.[3] Wherefore he rejoiced over the tranquil state of the church, when the persecution ceased for a little time, but was grieved as to himself, that he had not yet attained to a true love to Christ, nor reached the perfect rank of a disciple. For he inwardly reflected, that the confession which is made by martyrdom, would bring him into a yet more intimate relation to the Lord. Wherefore, continuing a few years longer with the church, and, like a divine lamp, enlightening every one's understanding by his expositions of the [Holy[4]] Scriptures, he [at length] attained the object of his desire.

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[1] The date of Trajan's accession was A.D. 98.

[2] The text here is somewhat doubtful.

[3] Literally, "any of the faint-hearted and more guileless."

[4] This word is of doubtful authority.

CHAP. II.—*Ignatius is condemned by Trajan.*

For Trajan, in the ninth[1] year of his reign, being lifted up [with pride], after the victory he had gained over the Scythians and Dacians, and many other nations, and thinking that the religious body of the Christians were yet wanting to complete the subjugation of all things to himself, and [thereupon] threatening them with persecution unless they should agree to[2] worship dæmons, as did all other nations, thus compelled[3] all who were living godly lives either to sacrifice [to idols] or die. Wherefore the noble soldier of Christ [Ignatius], being in fear for the church of the Antiochians, was, in accordance with his own desire, brought before Trajan, who was at that time staying at Antioch, but was in haste [to set forth] against Armenia and the Parthians. And when he was set before the emperor Trajan, [that prince] said unto him, "Who art thou, wicked wretch,[4] who settest[5] thyself to transgress our commands, and persuadest others to do the same, so that they should miserably perish?" Ignatius replied, "No one ought to call Theophorus[6] wicked; for all evil spirits[7] have departed from the servants of God. But if, because I am an enemy to these [spirits], you call me wicked in respect to them, I quite agree with you; for inasmuch as I have Christ the King of heaven [within me], I destroy all the devices of these [evil spirits]." Trajan answered, "And who is Theophorus?" Ignatius replied, "He who has Christ within his breast." Trajan said, "Do *we* not then seem to you to have the gods in our mind, whose assistance we enjoy in fighting against our enemies?" Ignatius answered, "Thou art in error when thou callest the dæmons of the nations gods. For there is but one God, who made heaven, and earth, and the sea, and all that are in them; and one Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, whose kingdom may I enjoy." Trajan said, "Do you mean him who was crucified under Pontius Pilate?" Ignatius replied, "I mean Him who crucified my sin, with him who was the inventor of it,[1] and who has condemned [and cast down] all the deceit and malice of the devil under the feet of those who carry Him in their heart." Trajan said, "Dost thou then carry within thee Him that was crucified?" Ignatius replied, "Truly so; for it is written, 'I will dwell in them, and walk in them.'"[2] Then Trajan pronounced sentence as follows: "We command that Ignatius, who affirms that he carries about within him Him that was crucified, be bound by soldiers, and carried to the great [city] Rome, there to be devoured by the beasts, for the gratification of the people." When the holy martyr heard this sentence, he cried out with joy, "I thank thee, O Lord, that Thou hast vouchsafed to honour me with a perfect love towards Thee, and hast made me to be bound with iron chains, like[3] Thy Apostle Paul." Having spoken thus, he then, with delight, clasped the chains about him; and when he had first prayed for the church, and commended it with tears to the Lord, he was hurried away by the savage[4] cruelty of the soldiers, like a distinguished ram, the leader of a goodly flock, that he might be carried to Rome, there to furnish food to the bloodthirsty beasts.

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[1] The numeral is uncertain. In the old Latin version we find "the fourth," which Grabe has corrected into the nineteenth. The choice lies between "ninth" and "nineteenth," *i.e.* A.D. 107 or 116.

[2] Literally, "would choose to submit to."

[3] Some read, "fear compelled."

[4] Literally, "evil-dæmon."

[5] Literally, "art zealous."

[6] Or, "one who carries God."

[7] Literally, "the dæmons."

CHAP. III.—*Ignatius sails to Smyrna.*

Wherefore, with great alacrity and joy, through his desire to suffer, he came down from Antioch to Seleucia, from which place he set sail. And after a great deal of suffering he came to Smyrna, where he disembarked with great joy, and hastened to see the holy Polycarp, [formerly] his fellow-disciple, and [now] bishop of Smyrna. For they had both, in old times, been disciples of St John the apostle. Being then brought to him, and having communicated to him some spiritual gifts, and glorying in his bonds, he entreated of him to labour[1] along with him for the fulfilment of his desire; earnestly indeed asking this of the whole church (for the cities and churches of Asia had welcomed[2] the holy man through their bishops, and presbyters, and deacons, all hastening to meet him, if by any means they might receive from him some[3] spiritual gift), but above all, the holy Polycarp, that, by means of the wild beasts, he soon disappearing from this world, might be manifested before the face of Christ.

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[1] The Latin version reads, "Him who bore my sin, with its inventor, upon the cross."

[2] 2 Cor. vi. 16.

[3] Literally, "with."

[4] Or, "beast-like."

CHAP. IV.—*Ignatius writes to the churches.*

And these things he thus spake, and thus testified, extending his love to Christ so far as one who was about to[4] secure heaven through his good confession, and the earnestness of those who joined their prayers to his in regard to his [approaching] conflict; and to give a recompense to the churches, who came to meet him through their rulers, sending[5] letters of thanksgiving to them, which dropped spiritual grace, along with prayer and exhortation. Wherefore, seeing all men so kindly affected towards him, and fearing lest the love of the brotherhood should hinder his zeal towards the Lord,[6] while a fair door of suffering martyrdom was opened to him, he wrote to the church of the Romans the epistle which is here subjoined.

(See the epistle as formerly given, pp. 205–220.)

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[1] It is doubtful if this clause should be referred to Polycarp.

[2] Or, "received."

[3] Literally, "a portion of."

[4] The Latin version has, "that he was to."

[5] The punctuation and construction are here doubtful.

[6] Or, "should prevent him from hastening to the Lord."

CHAP. V.—*Ignatius is brought to Rome.*

Having therefore, by means of this epistle, settled,[1] as he wished, those of the brethren at Rome who were unwilling [for his martyrdom]; and setting sail from Smyrna (for Christophorus was pressed by the soldiers to hasten to the public spectacles in the mighty [city] Rome, that, being given up to the wild beasts in the sight of the Roman people, he might attain to the crown for which he strove), he [next] landed at Troas. Then, going on from that place to Neapolis, he went [on foot] by Philippi through Macedonia, and on to that part of Epirus which is near Epidaumus; and finding a ship in one of the seaports, he sailed over the Adriatic Sea, and entering from it on the Tyrrhene, he passed by the various islands and cities, until, when Puteoli came in sight, he was eager there to disembark, having a desire to tread in the footsteps of the Apostle Paul.[2] But a violent wind arising did not suffer him to do so, the ship being driven rapidly forwards;[3] and, simply expressing his delight[4] over the love of the brethren in that place, he sailed by. Wherefore, continuing to enjoy fair winds, we were reluctantly hurried on in one day and a night, mourning [as we did] over the coming departure from us of this righteous man. But to him this happened just as he wished, since he was in haste as soon as possible to leave this world, that he might attain to the Lord whom he loved. Sailing then into the Roman harbour, and the unhallowed sports being just about to close, the soldiers began to be annoyed at our slowness, but the bishop rejoicingly yielded to their urgency.

CHAP. VI.—*Ignatius is devoured by the beasts at Rome.*

They pushed forth therefore from the place which is called Portus; and (the[5] fame of all relating to the holy martyr being already spread abroad) we met the brethren full of fear and joy; rejoicing indeed because they were thought worthy to meet with Theophorus, but struck with fear because so eminent a man was being led to death. Now he enjoined some to keep silence who, in their fervent zeal, were saying[1] that they would appease the people, so that they should not demand the destruction of this just one. He being immediately aware of this through the Spirit,[2] and having saluted them all, and begged of them to show a true affection towards him, and having dwelt [on this point] at greater length than in his epistle,[3] and having persuaded them not to envy him hastening to the Lord, he then, after he had, with all the brethren kneeling [beside him], entreated the Son of God in behalf of the churches, that a stop might be put to the persecution, and that mutual love might continue among the brethren, was led with all haste into the amphitheatre. Then, being immediately thrown in, according to the command of Cæsar given some time ago, the public spectacles being just about to close (for it was then a solemn day, as they deemed it, being that which is called the thirteenth[4] in the Roman tongue, on which the people were wont to assemble in more than ordinary numbers[5]), he was thus cast to the wild beasts close beside the temple,[6] that so by them the desire of the holy martyr Ignatius should be fulfilled, according to that which is written, "The desire of the righteous is acceptable[7] [to God]," to the effect that he might not be troublesome to any of the brethren by the gathering of his remains, even as he had in his epistle expressed a wish beforehand that so his end might be. For only the harder portions of his holy remains were left, which were conveyed to Antioch and wrapped[8] in linen, as an inestimable treasure left to the holy church by the grace which was in the martyr.

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[1] Or, "corrected."

[2] Comp. Acts xxviii. 13, 14.

[3] Literally, "the ship being driven onwards from the stern."

[4] Literally, "declaring happy."

[5] Literally, "for the."

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[1] Literally, "boiling, and saying."

[2] Or, "in spirit."

[3] *i.e.* in his Epistle to the Romans.

[4] The Saturnalia were then celebrated.

[5] Literally, "they came together zealously."

[6] The amphitheatre itself was sacred to several of the gods.

[7] Prov. x. 24.

[8] Or "deposited."

CHAP. VII.—*Ignatius appears in a vision after his death.*

Now these things took place on the thirteenth day before the Calends of January, that is, on the twentieth of December, Sura and Senecio being then the consuls of the Romans for the second time. Having ourselves been eye-witnesses of these things, and having spent the whole night in tears within the house, and having entreated the Lord, with bended knees and much prayer, that He would give us weak men full assurance respecting the things which were done,[1] it came to pass, on our falling into a brief slumber, that some of us saw the blessed Ignatius suddenly standing by us and embracing us, while others beheld him again praying for us, and others still saw him dropping with sweat, as if he had just come from his great labour, and standing by the Lord. When, therefore, we had with great joy witnessed these things, and had compared our several visions[2] together, we sang praise to God, the giver of all good things, and expressed our sense of the happiness of the holy [martyr]; and now we have made known to you both the day and the time [when these things happened], that, assembling ourselves together according to the time of his martyrdom, we may have fellowship with the champion and noble martyr of Christ, who trode under foot the devil, and perfected the course which, out of love to Christ, he had desired, in Christ Jesus our Lord; by whom, and with whom, be glory and power to the Father, with the Holy Spirit, for evermore! Amen.

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[1] To the effect, viz., that the martyrdom of Ignatius had been acceptable to God.

[2] Literally, "the visions of the dreams."

THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

THE following interesting and eloquent epistle is anonymous, and we. have no clue whatever as to its author. For a considerable period after its publication in 1592, it was generally ascribed to Justin Martyr. In recent times Otto has inserted it among the works of that writer, but Semisch and others contend that it cannot possibly be his. In dealing with this question, we depend entirely upon the internal evidence, no statement as to the authorship of the epistle having descended to us from antiquity. And it can scarcely be denied that the whole tone of the epistle, as well as special passages which it contains, points to some other writer than Justin. Accordingly, critics are now for the most part agreed that it is not his, and that it must be ascribed to one who lived at a still earlier date in the history of the church. Several internal arguments have been brought forward in favour of this opinion. Supposing chap. xi. to be genuine, it has been supported by the fact that the writer there styles himself "a disciple of the apostles." But there is great suspicion that the two concluding chapters are spurious; and even though admitted to be genuine, the expression quoted evidently admits of a different explanation from that which implies the writer's personal acquaintance with the apostles: it might, indeed, be adopted by one even at the present day. More weight is to be attached to those passages in which the writer speaks of Christianity as still being a *new* thing in the world. Expressions to this effect occur in several places (chap. i. ii. ix.), and seem to imply that the author lived very little, if at all, after the apostolic age. There is certainly nothing in the epistle which is inconsistent with this opinion; and we may therefore believe, that in this beautiful composition we possess a genuine production of some apostolic man who lived not later than the beginning of the second century.

The names of Clement of Rome and of Apollos have both been suggested as those of the probable author. Such opinions, however, are pure fancies, which it is perhaps impossible to refute, but which rest on nothing more than conjecture. Nor can a single word be said as to the person named Diognetus, to whom the letter is addressed. We must be content to leave both points in hopeless obscurity, and simply accept the epistle as written by an earnest and intelligent Christian to a sincere inquirer among the Gentiles, towards the close of the apostolic age.

It is much to be regretted that the text is often so very doubtful. Only three MSS. of the epistle, all probably exhibiting the same original text, are known to exist; and in not a few passages the readings are, in consequence, very defective and obscure. But notwithstanding this drawback, and the difficulty of representing the full force and elegance of the original, this epistle, as now presented to the English reader, can hardly fail to excite both his deepest interest and admiration.

THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS.

Chap. I.—*Occasion of the Epistle.*

SINCE I see thee, most excellent Diognetus, exceedingly desirous to learn the mode of worshipping God prevalent among the Christians, and inquiring very carefully and earnestly concerning them, what God they trust in, and what form of religion they observe,[1] so as all to look down upon the world itself, and despise death, while they neither esteem those to be gods that are reckoned such by the Greeks, nor hold to the superstition of the Jews; and what is the affection which they cherish among themselves; and why, in fine, this new kind or practice [of piety] has only now entered into the world,[2] and not long ago; I cordially welcome this thy desire, and I implore God, who enables us both to speak and to hear, to grant to me so to speak, that, above all, I may hear you have been edified,[3] and to you so to hear, that I who speak may have no cause of regret for having done so.

Chap. II.—*The vanity of idols.*

Come, then, after you have freed[4] yourself from all prejudices possessing your mind, and laid aside what you have been accustomed to, as something apt to deceive[5] you, and being made, as if from the beginning, a new man, inasmuch as, according to your own confession, you are to be the hearer of a new [system of] doctrine; come and contemplate, not with your eyes only, but with your understanding, the substance and the form[1] of those whom ye declare and deem to be gods. Is not one of them a stone similar to that on which we tread? Is[2] not a second brass, in no way superior to those vessels which are constructed for our ordinary use? Is not a third wood, and that already rotten? Is not a fourth silver, which needs a man to watch it, lest it be stolen? Is not a fifth iron, consumed by rust? Is not a sixth earthenware, in no degree more valuable than that which is formed for the humblest purposes? Are not all these of corruptible matter? Are they not fabricated by means of iron and fire? Did not the sculptor fashion one of them, the brazier a second, the silversmith a third, and the potter a fourth? Was not every one of them, before they were formed by the arts of these [workmen] into the shape of these [gods], each in its[3] own way subject to change? Would not those things which are now vessels, formed of the same materials, become like to such, if they met with the same artificers? Might not these, which are now worshipped by you, again be made by men vessels similar to others? Are they not all deaf? Are they not blind? Are they not without life? Are they not destitute of feeling? Are they not incapable of motion? Are they not all liable to rot? Are they not all corruptible? These things ye call gods; these ye serve; these ye worship; and ye become altogether like to them. For this reason ye hate the Christians, because they do not deem *these* to be gods. But do not ye yourselves, who now think and suppose [such to be gods], much more cast contempt upon them than they [the Christians do]? Do ye not much more mock and insult them, when ye worship those that are made of stone and earthenware, without appointing any persons to guard them; but those made of silver and gold ye shut up by night, and appoint watchers to look after them by day, lest they be stolen? And by those gifts which ye mean to present to them, do ye not, if they are possessed of sense, rather punish [than honour] them? But if, on the other hand, they are destitute of sense, ye convict them of this fact, while ye worship them with blood and the smoke of sacrifices. Let any one of you suffer such indignities![1] Let any one of you endure to have such things done to himself! But not a single human being will, unless compelled to it, endure such treatment, since he is endowed with sense and reason. A stone, however, readily bears it, seeing it is insensible. Certainly you do not show [by your[2] conduct] that he [your God] is possessed of sense. And as to the fact that Christians are not accustomed to serve such gods, I might easily find many other things to say; but if even what has been said does not seem to any one sufficient, I deem it idle to say anything further.

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[1] Literally, "trusting in what God, etc., they look down."

[2] Or, "life."

[3] Some read, "that you by hearing may be edified."

[4] Or, "purified."

[5] Literally, "which is deceiving."

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[1] Literally, "of what substance, or of what form."

[2] Some make this and the following clauses affirmative instead of interrogative.

[3] The text is here corrupt. Several attempts at emendation have been made, but without any marked success.

CHAP. III.—*Superstitions of the Jews.*

And next, I imagine that you are most desirous of hearing something on this point, that the Christians do not observe the same forms of divine worship as do the Jews. The Jews, then, if they abstain from the kind of service above described, and deem it proper to worship one God as being Lord of all, [are right]; but if they offer Him worship in the way which we have described, they greatly err. For while the Gentiles, by offering such things to those that are destitute of sense and hearing, furnish an example of madness; they, on the other hand, by thinking to offer these things to God as if He needed them, might justly reckon it rather an act of folly than of divine worship. For He that made heaven and earth, and all that is therein, and gives to us all the things of which we stand in need, certainly requires none of those things which He Himself bestows on such as think of furnishing them to Him. But those who imagine that, by means of blood, and the smoke of sacrifices and burnt-offerings, they offer sacrifices [acceptable] to Him, and that by such honours they show Him respect,—these, by[1] supposing that they can give anything to Him who stands in need of nothing, appear to me in no respect to differ from those who studiously confer the same honour on things destitute of sense, and which therefore are unable to enjoy such honours.

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[1] Some read, "Who of you would tolerate these things?" etc.

[2] The text is here uncertain, and the sense obscure. The meaning seems to be, that by sprinkling their gods with blood, etc., they tended to prove that these were not possessed of sense.

Chap. iv.—*The other observances of the Jews.*

But as to their scrupulosity concerning meats, and their superstition as respects the Sabbaths, and their boasting about circumcision, and their fancies about fasting and the new moons, which are utterly ridiculous and unworthy of notice, —I do not[2] think that you require to learn anything from me. For, to accept some of those things which have been formed by God for the use of men as properly formed, and to reject others as useless and redundant,—how can this be lawful? And to speak falsely of God, as if He forbade us to do what is good on the Sabbath-days,—how is not this impious? And to glory in the circumcision[3] of the flesh as a proof of election, and as if, on account of it, they were specially beloved by God,—how is it not a subject of ridicule? And as to their observing months and days,[4] as if waiting upon[5] the stars and the moon, and their distributing,[1] according to their own tendencies, the appointments of God, and the vicissitudes of the seasons, some for festivities,[2] and others for mourning,—who would deem this a part of divine worship, and not much rather a manifestation of folly? I suppose, then, you are sufficiently convinced that the Christians properly abstain from the vanity and error common [to both Jews and Gentiles], and from the busy-body spirit and vain boasting of the Jews; but you must not hope to learn the mystery of their peculiar mode of worshipping God from any mortal.

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[1] The text is here very doubtful. We have followed that adopted by most critics.

[2] Otto, resting on MS. authority, omits the negative, but the sense seems to require its insertion.

[3] Literally, "lessening."

[4] Comp. Gal. iv. 10.

[5] This seems to refer to the practice of the Jews in fixing the beginning of the day, and consequently of the Sabbath, from the rising of the stars. They used to say, that when three stars of moderate magnitude appeared, it was night; when two, it was twilight; and when only one, that day had not yet departed. It thus came to pass (according to their *night-day* (νυχθήμερον) reckoning), that whosoever engaged in work on

CHAP. V.—*The manners of the Christians.*

For the Christians are distinguished from other men neither by country, nor language, nor the customs which they observe. For they neither inhabit cities of their own, nor employ a peculiar form of speech, nor lead a life which is marked out by any singularity. The course of conduct which they follow has not been devised by any speculation or deliberation of inquisitive men; nor do they, like some, proclaim themselves the advocates of any merely human doctrines. But, inhabiting Greek as well as barbarian cities, according as the lot of each of them has determined, and following the customs of the natives in respect to clothing, food, and the rest of their ordinary conduct, they display to us their wonderful and confessedly striking[3] method of life. They dwell in their own countries, but simply as sojourners. As citizens, they share in all things with others, and yet endure all things as if foreigners. Every foreign land is to them as their native country, and every land of their birth as

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the evening of Friday, the beginning of the Sabbath, after three stars of moderate size were visible, was held to have sinned, and had to present a trespass-offering; and so on, according to the fanciful rule described.

[1] Otto thus supplies the *lacuna* which here occurs in the MSS., *κατὰδ* [*ιαιρεῖν*].

[2] The great festivals of the Jews are here referred to on the one hand, and the day of atonement on the other.

[3] Literally, "paradoxical."

a land of strangers. They marry, as do all [others]; they beget children; but they do not destroy their offspring.[1] They have a common table, but not a common bed.[2] They are in the flesh, but they do not live after the flesh.[3] They pass their days on earth, but they are citizens of heaven.[4] They obey the prescribed laws, and at the same time surpass the laws by their lives. They love all men, and are persecuted by all. They are unknown and condemned; they are put to death, and restored to life.[5] They are poor, yet make many rich;[6] they are in lack of all things, and yet abound in all; they are dishonoured, and yet in their very dishonour are glorified. They are evil spoken of, and yet are justified; they are reviled, and bless;[7] they are insulted, and repay the insult with honour; they do good, yet are punished as evil-doers. When punished, they rejoice as if quickened into life; they are assailed by the Jews as foreigners, and are persecuted by the Greeks; yet those who hate them are unable to assign any reason for their hatred.

CHAP. VI.—*The relation of Christians to the world.*

To sum up all in one word—what the soul is in the body, that are Christians in the world. The soul is dispersed through all the members of the body, and Christians are scattered through all the cities of the world. The soul dwells in the body, yet is not of the body; and Christians dwell in the world, yet are not of the world.[8] The invisible soul is guarded by the visible body, and Christians are known indeed to be in the world, but their godliness remains invisible. The flesh hates the soul, and wars against it,[9] though itself suffering no injury, because it is prevented from enjoying pleasures; the world also hates the Christians, though in no-wise injured, because they abjure pleasures. The soul loves the flesh that hates it, and [loves also] the members; Christians likewise love those that hate them. The soul is imprisoned in the body, yet preserves[1] that very body; and Christians are confined in the world as in a prison, and yet they are the preservers[1] of the world. The immortal soul dwells in a mortal tabernacle; and Christians dwell as sojourners in corruptible [bodies], looking for an incorruptible dwelling[2] in the heavens. The soul, when but ill-provided with food and drink, becomes better; in like manner, the Christians, though subjected day by day to punishment, increase the more in number.[3] God has assigned them this illustrious position, which it were unlawful for them to forsake.

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[1] Literally, "cast away fœtuses."

[2] Otto omits "bed," which is an emendation, and gives the second *common* the sense of *unclean*.

[3] Comp. 2 Cor. x. 3.

[4] Comp. Phil. iii. 20.

[5] Comp. 2 Cor. vi. 9.

[6] Comp. 2 Cor. vi. 10.

[7] Comp. 2 Cor. iv. 12.

[8] John xvii. 11, 14, 16.

[9] Comp. 1 Pet. ii. 11.

CHAP. VII.—*The manifestation of Christ.*

For, as I said, this was no mere earthly invention which was delivered to them, nor is it a mere human system of opinion, which they judge it right to preserve so carefully, nor has a dispensation of mere human mysteries been committed to them, but truly God Himself, who is almighty, the Creator of all things, and invisible, has sent from heaven, and placed among men, [Him who is] the truth, and the holy and incomprehensible Word, and has firmly established Him in their hearts. He did not, as one might have imagined, send to men any servant, or angel, or ruler, or any one of those who bear sway over earthly things, or one of those to whom the government of things in the heavens has been entrusted, but the very Creator and Fashioner of all things—by whom He made the heavens—by whom he enclosed the sea within its proper bounds—whose ordinances[4] all the stars[5] faithfully observe—from whom the sun[6] has received the measure of his daily course to be observed[1]—whom the moon obeys, being commanded to shine in the night, and whom the stars also obey, following the moon in her course; by whom all things have been arranged, and placed within their proper limits, and to whom all are subject—the heavens and the things that are therein, the earth and the things that are therein, the sea and the things that are therein—fire, air, and the abyss—the things which are in the heights, the things which are in the depths, and the things which lie between. This [messenger] He sent to them. Was it then, as one[2] might conceive, for the purpose of exercising tyranny, or of inspiring fear and terror? By no means, but under the influence of clemency and meekness. As a king sends his son, who is also a king, so sent He Him; as God[3] He sent Him; as to men He sent Him; as a Saviour He sent Him, and as seeking to persuade, not to compel us; for violence has no place in the character of God. As calling us He sent Him, not as vengefully pursuing us; as loving us He sent Him, not as judging us. For He will yet send Him to judge us, and who shall endure His appearing?[4] . . . Do you not see them exposed to wild beasts, that they may be persuaded to deny the Lord, and yet not overcome? Do you not see that the more of them that are punished, the greater becomes the number of the rest? This does not seem to be the work of man: this is the power of God; these are the evidences of His manifestation.

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[1] Literally, "keeps together."

[2] Literally, "incorruption."

[3] Or, "though punished, increase in number daily."

[4] Literally, "mysteries."

[5] Literally, "elements."

[6] The word "sun," though omitted in the MSS., should manifestly be inserted.

CHAP. VIII.—*The miserable state of men before the coming of the Word.*

For, who of men at all understood before His coming what God is? Do you accept of the vain and silly doctrines of those who are deemed trustworthy philosophers? of whom some said that fire was God, calling that God to which they themselves were by and by to come; and some water; and others some other of the elements formed by God. But if any one of these theories be worthy of approbation, every one of the rest of created things might also be declared to be God. But such declarations are simply the startling and erroneous utterances of deceivers;[1] and no man has either seen Him, or made Him known,[2] but He has revealed Himself. And He has manifested Himself through faith, to which alone it is given to behold God. For God, the Lord and Fashioner of all things, who made all things, and assigned them their several positions, proved Himself not merely a friend of mankind, but also long-suffering [in His dealings with them]. Yea, he was always of such a character, and still is, and will ever be, kind and good, and free from wrath, and true, and the only one who is [absolutely] good;[3] and He formed in His mind a great and unspeakable conception, which He communicated to His Son alone. As long, then, as He held and preserved His own wise counsel in concealment,[4] he appeared to neglect us, and to have no care over us. But after He revealed and laid open, through His beloved Son, the things which had been prepared from the beginning, He conferred every blessing[5] all at once upon us, so that we should both share in His benefits, and see and be active[6] [in His service]. Who of us would ever have expected these things? He was aware, then, of all things in His own mind, along with His Son, according to the relation[7] subsisting between them.

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[1] Literally, "has received to observe."

[2] Literally, "one of men."

[3] *God* here refers to the person sent.

[4] A considerable gap here occurs in the MSS.

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[1] Literally, "these things are the marvels and error."

[2] Or, "known Him."

[3] Comp. Matt. xix. 17.

[4] Literally, "in a mystery."

[5] Literally, "all things."

[6] The sense is here very obscure. We have followed the text of Otto, who fills up the *lacuna* in the MS. as above. Others have, "to see, and to handle Him."

[7] Literally, "economically."

CHAP. IX.—*Why the Son was sent so late.*

As long then as the former time[1] endured, He permitted us to be borne along by unruly impulses, being drawn away by the desire of pleasure and various lusts. This was not that He at all delighted in our sins, but that He simply endured them; nor that He approved the time of working iniquity which then was, but that He sought to form a mind conscious of righteousness,[2] so that being convinced in that time of our unworthiness of attaining life through our own works, it should now, through the kindness of God, be vouchsafed to us; and having made it manifest that in ourselves we were unable to enter into the kingdom of God, we might through the power of God be made able. But when our wickedness had reached its height, and it had been clearly shown that its reward,[3] punishment and death, was impending over us; and when the time had come which God had before appointed for manifesting His own kindness and power, how[4] the one love of God, through exceeding regard for men, did not regard us with hatred, nor thrust us away, nor remember our iniquity against us, but showed great long-suffering, and bore with us,[5] He Himself took on Him the burden of our iniquities, He gave His own Son as a ransom for us, the holy One for transgressors, the blameless One for the wicked, the righteous One for the unrighteous, the incorruptible One for the corruptible, the immortal One for them that are mortal. For what other thing was capable of covering our sins than His righteousness? By what other one was it possible that we, the wicked and ungodly, could be justified, than by the only Son of God? O sweet exchange! O unsearchable operation! O benefits surpassing all expectation! that the wickedness of many should be hid in a single righteous One, and that the righteousness of One should justify many transgressors! Having therefore convinced us in the former time[1] that our nature was unable to attain to life, and having now revealed the Saviour who is able to save even those things which it was [formerly] impossible to save, by both these facts He desired to lead us to trust in His kindness, to esteem Him our Nourisher, Father, Teacher, Counsellor, Healer, our Wisdom, Light, Honour, Glory, Power, and Life, so that we should not be anxious[2] concerning clothing and food.

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[1] Otto refers for a like contrast between these two times to Rom. iii. 21-26, v. 20, and Gal. iv. 4.

[2] The reading and sense are doubtful.

[3] Both the text and rendering are here somewhat doubtful, but the sense will in any case be much the same.

[4] Many variations here occur in the way in which the *lacuna* of the MSS. is to be supplied. They do not, however, greatly affect the meaning.

[5] In the MS. "saying" is here inserted, as if the words had been regarded as a quotation from Isa. liii. 11.

Chap. x.—*The blessings that will flow from faith.*

If you also desire [to possess] this faith, you likewise shall receive first of all the knowledge of the Father.[3] For God has loved mankind, on whose account He made the world, to whom He rendered subject all the things that are in it,[4] to whom He gave reason and understanding, to whom alone He imparted the privilege of looking upwards to Himself, whom He formed after His own image, to whom He sent His only-begotten Son, to whom He has promised a kingdom in heaven, and will give it to those who have loved Him. And when you have attained this knowledge, with what joy do you think you will be filled? Or, how will you love Him who has first so loved you? And if you love Him, you will be an imitator of His kindness. And do not wonder that a man may become an imitator of God. He can, if he is willing. For it is not by ruling over his neighbours, or by seeking to hold the supremacy over those that are weaker, or by being rich, and showing violence towards those that are inferior, that happiness is found; nor can any one by these things become an imitator of God. But these things do not at all constitute

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[1] That is, before Christ appeared.

[2] Comp. Matt. vi. 25, etc.

[3] Thus Otto supplies the *lacuna;* others conjecture somewhat different supplements.

[4] So Böhl. Sylburgius and Otto read, "in the earth."

His majesty. On the contrary he who takes upon himself the burden of his neighbour; he who, in whatsoever respect he may be superior, is ready to benefit another who is deficient; he who, whatsoever things he has received from God, by distributing these to the needy, becomes a god to those who receive [his benefits]: he is an imitator of God. Then thou shalt see, while still on earth, that God in the heavens rules over [the universe]; then thou shalt begin to speak the mysteries of God; then shalt thou both love and admire those that suffer punishment because they will not deny God; then shalt thou condemn the deceit and error of the world when thou shalt know what it is to live truly in heaven, when thou shalt despise that which is here esteemed to be death, when thou shalt fear what is truly death, which is reserved for those who shall be condemned to the eternal fire, which shall afflict those even to the end that are committed to it. Then shalt thou admire those who for righteousness' sake endure the fire that is but for a moment, and shalt count them happy when thou shalt know [the nature of] that fire.

CHAP. XI.—*These things are worthy to be known and believed.*

I do not speak of things strange to me, nor do I aim at anything inconsistent with right reason;[1] but having been a disciple of the apostles, I am become a teacher of the Gentiles. I minister the things delivered to me to those that are disciples worthy of the truth. For who that is rightly taught and begotten by the loving[2] Word, would not seek to learn accurately the things which have been clearly shown by the Word to His disciples, to whom the Word being manifested has revealed them, speaking plainly [to them], not understood indeed by the unbelieving, but conversing with the disciples, who, being esteemed faithful by Him, acquired a knowledge of the mysteries of the Father? For which[3] reason He sent the Word, that He might be manifested to the world; and He, being despised by the people [of the Jews], was, when preached by the apostles, believed on by the Gentiles. This is He who was from the beginning, who appeared as if new, and was found old, and yet who is ever born afresh in the hearts of the saints. This is He who, being from everlasting, is to-day called[1] the Son; through whom the church is enriched, and grace, widely spread, increases in the saints, furnishing understanding, revealing mysteries, announcing times, rejoicing over the faithful, giving[2] to those that seek, by whom the limits of faith are not broken through, nor the boundaries set by the fathers passed over. Then the fear of the law is chanted, and the grace of the prophets is known, and the faith of the gospels is established, and the tradition of the apostles is preserved, and the grace of the church exults; which grace if you grieve not, you shall know those things which the Word teaches, by whom He wills, and when He pleases. For whatever things we are moved to utter by the will of the Word commanding us, we communicate to you with pains, and from a love of the things that have been revealed to us.

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[1] Some render, "nor do I rashly seek to persuade others."

[2] Some propose to read, "and becoming a friend to the Word."

[3] It has been proposed to connect this with the preceding sentence, and read, "have known the mysteries of the Father, viz. for what purpose He sent the Word."

CHAP. XII.—*The importance of knowledge to true spiritual life.*

When you have read and carefully listened to these things, you shall know what God bestows on such as rightly love Him, being made [as ye are] a paradise of delight, presenting[3] in yourselves a tree bearing all kinds of produce and flourishing well, being adorned with various fruits. For in this place[4] the tree of knowledge and the tree of life have been planted; but it is not the tree of knowledge that destroys—it is disobedience that proves destructive. Nor truly are those words without significance which are written, how God from the beginning planted the tree of life in the midst of paradise, revealing through knowledge the way to life,[5] and when those who were first formed did not use this [knowledge] properly, they were, through the fraud of the serpent, stripped naked.[1] For neither can life exist without knowledge, nor is knowledge secure without life. Wherefore both were planted close together. The apostle, perceiving the force [of this conjunction], and blaming that knowledge which, without true doctrine, is admitted to influence life,[2] declares, "Knowledge puffeth up, but love edifieth." For he who thinks he knows anything without true knowledge, and such as is witnessed to by life, knows nothing, but is deceived by the serpent, as not[3] loving life. But he who combines knowledge with fear, and seeks after life, plants in hope, looking for fruit. Let your heart be your wisdom; and let your life be true knowledge[4] inwardly received. Bearing this tree and displaying its fruit, thou shalt always gather[5] in those things which are desired by God, which the serpent cannot reach, and to which deception does not approach; nor is Eve then corrupted,[6] but is trusted as a virgin; and salvation is manifested, and the apostles are filled with understanding, and the passover of the Lord advances, and the choirs are gathered together, and are arranged in proper order, and the Word rejoices in teaching the saints,—by whom the Father is glorified: to whom be glory for ever. Amen.

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[1] Or, "esteemed."

[2] Or, "given."

[3] Literally, "bringing forth."

[4] That is, in Paradise.

[5] Literally, "revealing life."

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[1] Or, "deprived of it."

[2] Literally, "knowledge without the truth of a command exercised to life." See 1 Cor. viii. 1.

[3] The MS. is here defective. Some read, "on account of the love of life."

[4] Or, "true word," or, "reason."

[5] Or, "reap."

[6] The meaning seems to be, that if the tree of true knowledge and life be planted within you, you shall continue free from blemishes and sins.

THE PASTOR OF HERMAS.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

THE Pastor of Hermas was one of the most popular books, if not the most popular book, in the Christian church during the second, third, and fourth centuries. It occupied a position analogous in some respects to that of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* in modern times; and critics have frequently compared the two works.

In ancient times two opinions prevailed in regard to the authorship. The most widely spread was, that the Pastor of Hermas was the production of the Hermas mentioned in the Epistle to the Romans. Origen[1] states this opinion distinctly, and it is repeated by Eusebius[2] and Jerome.[3]

Those who believed the apostolic Hermas to be the author, necessarily esteemed the book very highly; and there was much discussion as to whether it was inspired or not. The early writers are of opinion that it was really inspired. Irenæus quotes it as scripture;[4] Clemens Alexandrinus speaks of it as making its statements "divinely;"[5] and Origen, though a few of his expressions are regarded by some as implying doubt, unquestionably gives it as his opinion that it is "divinely inspired."[6] Eusebius mentions that difference of opinion prevailed in his day as to the inspiration of the book, some opposing its claims, and others maintaining its divine origin, especially because it formed an admirable introduction to the Christian faith. For this latter reason it was read publicly, he tells us, in the churches.

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[1] Comment. in Rom. [xvi. 14], lib. x. 31.

[2] *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 3.

[3] *De Viris Illustribus*, c. x.

[4] *Contra Hæres.* iv. 20, 2.

[5] *Strom.* i. xxix. p. 426.

[6] *Ut supra.*

The only voice of antiquity decidedly opposed to the claim is that of Tertullian. He designates it apocryphal,[1] and rejects it with scorn, as favouring Anti-Montanistic opinions. Even *his* words, however, show that it was regarded in many churches as scripture.

The second opinion as to the authorship is found in no writer of any name. It occurs only in two places: a poem falsely ascribed to Tertullian, and a fragment published by Muratori, on the Canon, the authorship of which is unknown, and the original language of which is still a matter of dispute. The fragment says, "The Pastor was written very lately in our times, in the city of Rome, by Hermas, while Bishop Pius, his brother, sat in the chair of the church of the city of Rome."

A third opinion has had advocates in modern times. The Pastor of Hermas is regarded as a fiction, and the person Hermas, who is the principal character, is, according to this opinion, merely the invention of the fiction-writer.

Whatever opinion critics may have in regard to the authorship, there can be but one opinion as to the date. The Pastor of Hermas must have been written at an early period. The fact that it was recognised by Irenæus as scripture shows that it must have been in circulation long before his time. The most probable date assigned to its composition is the reign of Hadrian, or of Antoninus Pius.

The work is very important in many respects; but especially as reflecting the tone and style of books which interested and instructed the Christians of the second and third centuries.

The Pastor of Hermas was written in Greek. It was well known in the eastern churches: it seems to have been but little read in the Western. Yet the work bears traces of having been written in Italy.

For a long time the Pastor of Hermas was known to scholars only in a Latin version, occurring in several MSS. with but slight variations. But within recent times the difficulty of settling the text has been increased by the discovery of various MSS. A Latin translation has been edited, widely differing from the common version. Then a Greek MS. was said to have been found in Mount Athos, of which Simonides affirmed that he brought away a portion of the original and a copy of the rest. Then a MS. of the Pastor of Hermas was found at the end of the Sinaitic Codex of Tischendorf. And in addition to all these, there is an Æthiopic translation. The discussion of the value of these discoveries is one of the most difficult that can fall to the lot of critics; for it involves not merely an examination of peculiar forms of words and similar criteria, but an investigation into statements made by Simonides and Tischendorf respecting events in their own lives. But whatever may be the conclusions at which the critic arrives, the general reader does not gain or lose much. In all the Greek and Latin forms the Pastor of Hermas is substantially the same. There are many minute differences; but there are scarcely any of importance—perhaps we should say none.

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[1] *De Pudicitia*, c. xx., also c. x.; *De Oratione*, c. xvi.

In this translation the text of Hilgenfeld, which is based on the Sinaitic Codex, has been followed.

The letters *Vat.* mean the Vatican manuscript, the one from which the common or vulgate version was usually printed.

The letters *Pal.* mean the manuscript edited by Dressel, which contains the Latin version, differing considerably from the common version.

The letters *Lips.* refer to the manuscript, partly original and partly copied, furnished by Simonides from Athos. The text of Anger and Dindorf (Lips. 1856) has been used, though reference has also been made to the text of Tischendorf in Dressel.

The letters *Sin.* refer to the Sinaitic Codex, as given in Dressel and in Hilgenfeld's notes.

The letters *Æth.* refer to the Æthiopic version, edited, with a Latin translation, by Antonius D'Abbadie. Leipzig 1860.

No attempt has been made to give even a tithe of the various readings. Only the most important have been noted.

THE PASTOR.

BOOK FIRST.—VISIONS.

VISION FIRST.

AGAINST FILTHY AND PROUD THOUGHTS, AND THE CARELESSNESS OF HERMAS IN CHASTISING HIS SONS.

Chap. I.

HE who had brought me up, sold me to one Rhode in Rome.[1] Many years after this I recognised her, and I began to love her as a sister. Some time after, I saw her bathe in the river Tiber; and I gave her my hand, and drew her out of the river. The sight of her beauty made me think with myself, "I should be a happy man if I could but get a wife as handsome and good as she is." This was the only thought that passed through me: this and nothing more. A short time after this, as I was walking on my road to the villages,[2] and magnifying the creatures of God, and thinking how magnificent, and beautiful, and powerful they are,[3] I fell asleep. And the Spirit carried me away, and took me through a pathless place,[4] through which a man could not travel, for it was situated in the midst of rocks; it was rugged and impassable on account of water. Having passed over this river, I came to a plain. I then bent down on my knees, and began to pray to the Lord,[1] and to confess my sins. And as I prayed, the heavens were opened, and I see the woman whom I had desired saluting me from the sky, and saying, "Hail, Hermas!" And looking up to her, I said, "Lady, what doest thou here?" And she answered me, "I have been taken up here to accuse you of your sins before the Lord." "Lady," said I, "are you to be the subject of my accusation?"[2] "No," said she; "but hear the words which I am going to speak to you. God, who dwells in the heavens, and made out of nothing the things that exist, and multiplied and increased them on account of His holy church, is angry with you for having sinned against me." I answered her, "Lady, have I sinned against you? How?[3] or when spoke I an unseemly word to you? Did I not always think of you as a lady? Did I not always respect you as a sister? Why do you falsely accuse me of this wickedness and impurity?" With a smile she replied to me, "The desire of wickedness[4] arose within your heart. Is it not your opinion that a righteous man commits sin when an evil desire arises in his heart? There is sin in such a case, and the sin is great," said she; "for the thoughts of a righteous man should be righteous. For by thinking righteously his character is established in the heavens,[5] and he has the Lord merciful to him in every business. But such as entertain wicked thoughts in their minds are bringing upon themselves death and captivity; and especially is this the case with those who set their affections on this world, and glory in their riches, and look not forward to the blessings of the life to come. For many will their regrets be; for they have no hope, but have despaired of themselves and their life.[1] But do thou pray to God, and He will heal thy sins, and the sins of thy whole house, and of all the saints."

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[1] The commencement varies. In the Vatican: "He who had brought me up, sold a certain young woman at Rome. Many years after this I saw her and recognised her." So Lips.; Pal. has the name of the woman, Rada. The name Rhode occurs in Acts xii. 13.

[2] "On my road to the villages." This seems to mean: as I was taking a walk into the country, or spending my time in travelling amid rural scenes. So the Æthiopic version. "Proceeding with these thoughts in my mind."—*Vat.* "After I had come to the city of Ostia."—*Pal.* "Proceeding to some village."—*Lips.*

[3] *Creatures.* Creature or creation.—*Lips.*, *Vat.*, *Æth.*

[4] *Pathless place.* Place on the right hand.—*Vat.*

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[1] *Lord.* God.—*Sin.* alone.

[2] *Are you to be the subject of my accusation?* Are you to accuse me?—*Vat.*, *Lips.*, *Æth.*

[3] *How?* In what place?—*Vat.*, *Sin.*

[4] *Wickedness.* The desire of fornication.—*Lips.*

[5] Literally, His glory is made straight in the heavens. As long as his thoughts are righteous and his way of life correct, he will have the Lord in heaven merciful to him.—*Vat.* When he thinks righteously, he corrects himself, and his grace will be in heaven, and he will have the Lord merciful in every business.—*Pal.* His dignity will be straight in the skies.—*Æth.*

CHAP. II.

After she had spoken these words, the heavens were shut. I was overwhelmed with sorrow and fear, and said to myself, "If this sin is assigned to me, how can I be saved, or how shall I propitiate God in regard to my sins,[2] which are of the grossest character? With what words shall I ask the Lord to be merciful to me? While I was thinking over these things, and discussing them in my mind, I saw opposite to me a chair, white, made of white wool,[3] of great size. And there came up an old woman, arrayed in a splendid robe, and with a book in her hand; and she sat down alone, and saluted me, "Hail, Hermas!" And in sadness and tears[4] I said to her, "Lady, hail!" And she said to me, "Why are you downcast, Hermas? for you were wont to be patient and temperate, and always smiling. Why are you so gloomy, and not cheerful?" I answered her and said, "O Lady, I have been reproached by a very good woman, who says that I sinned against her." And she said, "Far be such a deed from a servant of God. But perhaps a desire after her has arisen within your heart. Such a wish, in the case of the servants of God, produces sin. For it is a wicked and horrible wish in an all-chaste and already well-tried spirit[1] to desire an evil deed; and especially for Hermas so to do, who keeps himself from all wicked desire, and is full of all simplicity, and of great guilelessness.

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[1] *For many . . . life.* For the minds of such become empty. Now this is what the doubters do who have no hope in the Lord, and despise and neglect their life.—*Vat.* Their souls not having the hope of life, do not resist these luxuries; for they despair of themselves and their life.—*Pal.*

[2] Literally, perfect. *How . . . sins.* How shall I entreat the Lord in regard to my very numerous sins?—*Vat.* How can I propitiate the Lord God in these my sins?—*Pal.* How then shall I be saved, and beg pardon of the Lord for these my many sins?—*Æth.*

[3] A chair made of white wool, like snow.—*Vat.* A chair for reclining, and on it a covering of wool, white as hail.—*Æth.*

[4] *And . . . sorrow.* I leaping in spirit with joy at her salutation.—*Lips.*

CHAP. III.

"But God is not angry with you on account of this, but that you may convert your house,[2] which have committed iniquity against the Lord, and against you, their parents. And although you love your sons, yet did you not warn your house, but permitted them to be terribly corrupted.[3] On this account is the Lord angry with you, but He will heal all the evils which have been done in your house. For, on account of their sins and iniquities, you have been destroyed by the affairs of this world. But now the mercy of the Lord[4] has taken pity on you and your house, and will strengthen you, and establish you in His glory.[5] Only be not easy-minded,[6] but be of good courage and comfort your house. For as a smith hammers out his work, and accomplishes whatever he wishes,[7] so shall righteous daily speech overcome all iniquity.[8] Cease not therefore to admonish your sons; for I know that, if they will repent with all their heart, they will be enrolled in the Books of Life with the saints."[9] Having ended these words, she said to me, "Do you wish to hear me read?" I say to her, "Lady, I do." "Listen then, and give ear to the glories of God."[1] And then I heard from her,[2] magnificently and admirably, things which my memory could not retain. For all the words were terrible, such as man could not endure. The last words, however, I did remember; for they were useful to us, and gentle.[3] "Lo, the God of powers, who by His invisible strong power and great wisdom has created the world, and by His glorious counsel has surrounded His creation with beauty, and by His strong word has fixed the heavens and laid the foundations of the earth upon the waters, and by His own wisdom and providence[4] has created His holy[5] church, which He has blessed, lo! He removes[6] the heavens and the mountains,[7] the hills and the seas, and all things become plain to His elect, that He may bestow on them the blessing which He has promised them, with much glory and joy, if only they shall keep the commandments of God which they have received in great faith."

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[1] *For . . . spirit.* For this hateful thought ought not to be in a servant of God, nor ought a well-tried spirit to desire an evil deed.—*Vat.*

[2] *But that.* But God is not angry with you on your own account, but on account of your house, which has.—*Vat.*

[3] *Corrupted.* To live riotously.—*Vat.*

[4] *Lord.* God.—*Vat.*

[5] *Will strengthen.* Has preserved you in glory.—*Vat.* Strengthened and established.—*Lips.* Has saved your house.—*Pal.*

[6] *Easy-minded.* Only wander not, but be calm.—*Vat.* Omitted in Pal.

[7] *Accomplishes . . . wishes.* And exhibits it to any one to whom he wishes.—*Vat.*

[8] So shall you also, teaching the truth daily, cut off great sin.—*Vat.*

[9] *I know . . . saints.* For the Lord knows that they will repent with all their heart, and He will write you in the Book of Life.—*Vat.* See Phil. iv. 3; Rev. xx. 15.

CHAP. IV.

When she had ended her reading, she rose from the chair, and four young men came and carried off the chair and went away to the east. And she called me to herself and touched my breast, and said to me, "Have you been pleased with my reading?" And I say to her, "Lady, the last words please me, but the first are cruel and harsh." Then she said to me, "The last are for the righteous: the first are for heathens and apostates." And while she spoke to me, two men appeared and raised her on their shoulders, and they went to where the chair was in the east. With joyful countenance did she depart; and as she went, she said to me, "Behave like a man,[1] Hermas."

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[1] *And give ear to the glories of God*, om. in Vat.

[2] *And then . . . her.* And unfolding a book, she read gloriously, magnificently, and admirably.—*Vat.*

[3] *Gentle.* For they were few and useful to us.—*Vat.*

[4] *By His own wisdom and providence.* By His mighty power.—*Vat.*, *Pal.*

[5] *Holy* omitted by Lips.

[6] *Removes.* He will remove.—*Vat.*

[7] See 2 Pet. iii. 5.

VISION SECOND.

AGAIN, OF HIS NEGLECT IN CHASTISING HIS TALKATIVE WIFE AND HIS LUSTFUL SONS, AND OF HIS CHARACTER.

Chap. I.

As I was going to the country[2] about the same time as on the previous year, in my walk I recalled to memory the vision of that year. And again the Spirit carried me away, and took me to the same place where I had been the year before. On coming to that place, I bowed my knees and began to pray to the Lord, and to glorify His name, because He had deemed me worthy, and had made known to me my former sins. On rising from prayer, I see opposite me that old woman, whom I had seen the year before, walking and reading some book. And she says to me, "Can you carry a report of these things to the elect of God?" I say to her, "Lady, so much I cannot retain in my memory, but give me the book and I shall transcribe it." "Take it," says she, "and you will give it back to me." Thereupon I took it, and going away into a certain part of the country, I transcribed the whole of it letter by letter;[3] but the syllables of it I did not catch. No sooner, however, had I finished the writing of the book, than all of a sudden it was snatched from my hands; but who the person was that snatched it, I saw not.

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[1] Be strong, or be made strong.—*Vat.*

[2] *Country;* lit. *to the villages.* From Cumæ.—*Vat.* While I was journeying in the district of the Cumans.—*Pal.*

[3] *Going . . . letter.* Now taking the book, I sat down in one place and wrote the whole of it in order.—*Pal.* In the ancient MSS. there was nothing to mark out where one word ended and another commenced.

CHAP. II.

Fifteen days after, when I had fasted and prayed much to the Lord, the knowledge of the writing was revealed to me. Now the writing was to this effect: "Your seed, O Hermas, has sinned against God, and they have blasphemed against[1] the Lord, and in their great wickedness they have betrayed their parents. And they passed as traitors of their parents, and by their treachery did they not[2] reap profit. And even now they have added to their sins lusts and iniquitous pollutions, and thus their iniquities have been filled up. But make known[3] these words to all your children, and to your wife, who is to be your sister. For she does not[4] restrain her tongue, with which she commits iniquity; but, on hearing these words, she will control herself, and will obtain mercy. For after you have made known to them these words which my Lord has commanded me to reveal to you,[5] then shall they be forgiven all the sins which in former times they committed, and forgiveness will be granted to all the saints who have sinned even to the present day, if they repent with all their heart, and drive all doubts from their minds. For the Lord has sworn by His glory, in regard to His elect, that if any one of them sin after a certain day which has been fixed, he shall not be saved. For the repentance of the righteous has limits. Filled up are the days of repentance to all the saints; but to the heathen, repentance will be possible even to the last day. You will tell, therefore, those who preside over the church, to direct their ways in righteousness, that they may receive in full the promises with great glory. Stand stedfast, therefore, ye who work righteousness, and doubt not,[6] that your passage[7] may be with the holy angels. Happy ye who endure the great tribulation that is coming on, and happy they who shall not deny their own life.[1] For the Lord hath sworn by His Son, that those who denied their Lord have abandoned their life in despair, for even now these are to deny Him in the days that are coming.[2] To those who denied in earlier times, God became[3] gracious, on account of His exceeding tender mercy.

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[1] *God . . . against*, omitted in Vat.

[2] *Not*, omitted in Vat.

[3] *Make known.* Rebuke with these words.—*Vat.*

[4] Let her restrain her tongue.—*Vat.*

[5] *For . . . you.* For she will be instructed, after you have rebuked her with those words which the Lord has commanded to be revealed to you. —*Vat.*

[6] *Doubt not.* And so act.—*Vat.*

[7] *Passage.* Your journey.—*Pal.*

CHAP. III.

"But as for you, Hermas, remember not the wrongs done to you by your children, nor neglect your sister, that they may be cleansed from their former sins. For they will be instructed with righteous instruction, if you remember not the wrongs they have done you. For the remembrance of wrongs worketh death.[4] And you, Hermas, have endured great personal[5] tribulations on account of the transgressions of your house, because you did not attend to them, but were careless,[6] and engaged in your wicked transactions. But[7] you are saved, because you did not depart from the living God, and on account of your simplicity and great self-control. These have saved you, if you remain stedfast. And they will save all who act in the same manner, and walk in guilelessness and simplicity. Those who possess such virtues will wax strong against every form of wickedness, and will abide unto eternal life. Blessed are all they who practise righteousness, for they shall never be destroyed. Now you will tell Maximus: Lo![1] tribulation cometh on. If it seemeth good to thee, deny again. The Lord is near to them who return unto Him, as it is written in Eldad and Modat,[2] who prophesied to the people in the wilderness."

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[1] And whosoever shall not deny his own life.—*Vat.*

[2] *Those . . . coming.* The meaning of this sentence is obscure. The Vat. is evidently corrupt, but seems to mean: "The Lord has sworn by His Son, that whoever will deny Him and His Son, promising themselves life thereby, they [God and His Son] will deny them in the days that are to come." The days that are to come would mean the day of judgment and the future state. See Matt. x. 33.

[3] *Became gracious.* Will be gracious.—*Pal.*

[4] The Vat. adds: but forgetfulness of them, eternal life.

[5] *Personal.* Worldly.—*Vat.*

[6] *You . . . careless.* You neglected them as if they did not belong to you.—*Vat.*

[7] But you will be saved for not having departed from the living God. And your simplicity and singular self-control will save you, if you remain stedfast.—*Vat.*

CHAP. IV.

Now a revelation was given to me, my brethren, while I slept, by a young man of comely appearance, who said to me, "Who do you think that old woman is from whom you received the book?" And I said, "The Sibyl." "You are in a mistake," says he; "it is not the Sibyl." "Who is it then?" say I. And he said, "It is the church."[3] And I said to him, "Why then is she an old woman?" "Because," said he, "she was created first of all. On this account is she old. And for her sake was the world made." After that I saw a vision in my house, and that old woman came and asked me, if I had yet given the book to the presbyters. And I said that I had not. And then she said, "You have done well, for I have some words to add. But when I finish all the words, all the elect will then become acquainted with them through you. You will write therefore two books, and you will send the one to Clemens and the other to Grapte.[4] And Clemens will send his to foreign countries, for permission has been granted to him to do so. And Grapte will admonish the widows and the orphans. But you will read the words in this city, along with the presbyters who preside over the church.

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[1] Now you will say: Lo! great tribulation cometh on.—*Vat.* Lo! exceedingly great tribulation cometh on.—*Lips.*

[2] Eldad (or Eldat or Heldat or Heldam) and Modat (Mudat or Modal) are mentioned in Num. xi. 26, 27. The apocryphal book inscribed with their name is now lost. Cotelerius compares for the passage Ps. xxxiv. 9.

[3] *The church.* The church of God.—*Vat.*

[4] Grapte is supposed to have been a deaconess.

VISION THIRD.

CONCERNING THE BUILDING OF THE TRIUMPHANT CHURCH, AND THE VARIOUS CLASSES OF REPROBATE MEN.

CHAP. I.

The vision which I saw, my brethren, was of the following nature. Having fasted frequently, and having prayed to the Lord that He would show me the revelation which He promised to show me through that old woman, the same night that old woman appeared to me, and said to me, "Since you are so anxious and eager to know all things, go into the part of the country where you tarry; and about the fifth[1] hour I shall appear unto you, and show you all that you ought to see." I asked her, saying, "Lady, into what part of the country am I to go?" And she said, "Into any part you wish." Then I chose a spot which was suitable, and retired. Before, however, I began to speak and to mention the place, she said to me, "I will come where you wish." Accordingly, I went to the country, and counted the hours, and reached the place where I had promised to meet her. And I see an ivory seat ready placed, and on it a linen cushion, and above the linen cushion was spread a covering of fine linen. Seeing these laid out, and yet no one in the place, I began to feel awe, and as it were a trembling seized hold of me, and my hair stood on end, and as it were a horror came upon me when I saw that I was all alone. But on coming back to myself and calling to mind the glory of God, I took courage, bent my knees, and again confessed my sins to God as I had done before. Whereupon the old woman approached, accompanied by six young men whom I had also seen before; and she stood behind me, and listened to me, as I prayed and confessed my sins to the Lord. And touching me she said, "Hermas, cease praying continually for your sins; pray for righteousness, that you may have a portion of it immediately in your house." On this, she took me up by the hand, and brought me to the seat, and said to the young men, "Go and build." When the young men had gone and we were alone, she said to me, "Sit here." I say to her, "Lady, permit my elders[1] to be seated first." "Do what I bid you," said she; "sit down." When I would have sat down on her right, she did not permit me, but with her hand beckoned to me to sit down on the left. While I was thinking about this, and feeling vexed that she did not let me sit on the right, she said, "Are you vexed, Hermas? The place to the right is for others who have already pleased God, and have suffered for His name's sake; and you have yet much to accomplish before you can sit with them. But abide as you now do in your simplicity, and you will sit with them, and with all who do their deeds and bear what they have borne."

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[1] *Fifth.* Sixth.—*Vat.*

CHAP. II.

"What have they borne?" said I. "Listen," said she: "scourges, prisons, great tribulations, crosses, wild beasts, for God's name's sake. On this account is assigned to them the division of sanctification on the right hand, and to every one who shall suffer for God's name: to the rest is assigned the division on the left. But both for those who sit on the right, and those who sit on the left, there are the same gifts and promises; only those sit on the right, and have some glory. You then are eager to sit on the right with them, but your shortcomings are many. But you will be cleansed from your shortcomings; and all who are not given to doubts shall be cleansed from all their iniquities up till this day." Saying this, she wished to go away. But falling down at her feet, I begged her by the Lord that she would show me the vision which she had promised to show me. And then she again took hold of me by the hand, and raised me, and made me sit on the seat to the left; and lifting up a splendid rod, she said to me, "Do you see something great?" And I say, "Lady, I see nothing." She said to me, "Lo! do you not see opposite to you a great tower, built upon the waters, of splendid square stones?" For the tower was built square by those six young men who had come with her.

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[1] *My elders.* Perhaps the translation should be: the presbyters.

But myriads of men were carrying stones to it, some dragging them from the depths, others removing them from the land, and they handed them to these six young men. They were taking them and building; and those of the stones that were dragged out of the depths, they placed in the building just as they were: for they were polished and fitted exactly into the other stones, and became so united one with another that the lines of juncture could not be perceived. And in this way the building of the tower looked as if it were made out of one stone. Those stones, however, which were taken from the earth suffered a different fate; for the young men rejected some of them, some they fitted into the building, and some they cut down, and cast far away from the tower. Many other stones, however, lay around the tower, and the young men did not use them in building; for some of them were rough, others had cracks in them, others had been made too short,[1] and others were white and round, but did not fit into the building of the tower. Moreover, I saw other stones thrown far away from the tower, and falling into the public road; yet they did not remain on the road, but were rolled into a pathless place. And I saw others falling into the fire and burning, others falling close to the water, and yet not capable of being rolled into the water, though they wished to be rolled down, and to enter the water.

CHAP. III.

On showing me these visions, she wished to retire. I said to her, "What is the use of my having seen all this, while I do not know what it means?" She said to me, "You are a cunning fellow, wishing to know everything that relates to the tower." "Even so, O Lady," said I, "that I may tell it to my brethren, that, hearing this, they may know the Lord in much glory."[2] And she said, "Many indeed shall hear, and hearing, some shall be glad, and some shall weep. But even these, if they hear and repent, shall also rejoice. Hear, then, the parables of the tower; for I will reveal all to you, and give me no more trouble in regard to revelation: for these revelations have an end, for they have been completed. But you will not cease praying for revelations, for you are shameless. The tower which you see building is myself, the Church, who have appeared to you now and on the former occasion. Ask, then, whatever you like in regard to the tower, and I will reveal it to you, that you may rejoice with the saints." I said unto her, "Lady, since you have vouchsafed to reveal all to me this once, reveal it." She said to me, "Whatsoever ought to be revealed, will be revealed; only let your heart be with God,[1] and doubt not whatsoever you shall see." I asked her, "Why was the tower built upon the waters, O Lady?" She answered, "I told you before,[2] and you still inquire carefully: therefore inquiring you shall find the truth. Hear then why the tower is built upon the waters. It is because your life has been, and will be, saved through water. For the tower was founded on the word of the almighty and glorious Name, and it is kept together by the invisible power of the Lord."[3]

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[1] *Others had been made too short*, not in Vat.

[2] *That . . . glory.* And that they may be made more joyful, and, hearing this, may greatly glorify the Lord.—*Vat.*

CHAP. IV.

In reply I said to her, "This is magnificent and marvellous. But who are the six young men who are engaged in building?" And she said, "These are the holy angels of God, who were first created, and to whom the Lord handed over His whole creation, that they might increase and build up and rule over the whole creation. By these will the building of the tower be finished." "But who are the other persons who are engaged in carrying the stones?" "These also are holy angels of the Lord, but the former six are more excellent than these. The building of the tower will be finished,[1] and all will rejoice together around the tower, and they will glorify God, because the tower is finished." I asked her, saying, "Lady, I should like to know what became of the stones, and what was meant by the various kinds of stones?" In reply she said to me, "Not because you are[2] more deserving than all others that this revelation should be made to you—for there are others before you, and better than you, to whom these visions should have been revealed—but that the name of God may be glorified, has the revelation been made to you, and it will be made on account of the doubtful who ponder in their hearts whether these things will be or not. Tell them that all these things are true, and that none of them is beyond the truth. All of them are firm and sure, and established on a strong foundation.

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[1] *God.* Lord.—*Vat.*

[2] I said to you before, that you were cunning, diligently inquiring in regard to the Scriptures.—*Vat.* You are cunning in regard to the Scriptures.—*Lips.* In some of the MSS. of the common Latin version "structures" is read instead of "Scriptures."

[3] *The Lord.* God.—*Vat.*

CHAP. V.

"Hear now with regard to the stones which are in the building. Those square white stones which fitted exactly into each other, are apostles, bishops, teachers, and deacons, who have lived in godly purity, and have acted as bishops and teachers and deacons chastely and reverently to the elect of God. Some of them have fallen asleep, and some still remain alive. And they have always agreed with each other, and been at peace among themselves, and listened to each other. On account of this, they join exactly into the building of the tower." "But who are the stones that were dragged from the depths, and which were laid into the building and fitted in with the rest of the stones previously placed in the tower?" "They are those[3] who suffered for the Lord's sake." "But I wish to know, O Lady, who are the other stones which were carried from the land." "Those," she said, "which go into the building without being polished, are those whom God has approved of, for they walked in the straight ways of the Lord and practised His commandments." "But who are those who are in the act of being brought and placed in the building?" "They are those who are young in faith and are faithful. But they are admonished by the angels to do good, for no iniquity has been found in them." "Who then are those whom they rejected and cast away?"[1] "These are they who have sinned, and wish to repent. On this account they have not been thrown far from the tower, because they will yet be useful in the building, if they repent. Those then who are to repent, if they do repent, will be strong in faith, if they now repent while the tower is building. For if the building be finished, there will not be more room for any one, but he will be rejected. This privilege, however, will belong only to him who has now been placed near the tower.

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[1] *The building.* When therefore the building of the tower is finished, all.—*Vat.*

[2] *Not because you are better.* Are you better?—*Vat.*

[3] *Are those.* They are those who have already fallen asleep, and who suffered.—*Vat.*

Chap. vi.

"As to those who were cut down and thrown far away from the tower, do you wish to know who they are? They are the sons of iniquity, and they believed in hypocrisy, and wickedness did not depart from them. For this reason they are not saved, since they cannot be used in the building on account of their iniquities. Wherefore they have been cut off and cast far away on account of the anger of the Lord, for they have roused Him to anger. But I shall explain to you the other stones which you saw lying in great numbers, and not going into the building. Those which are rough are those who have known the truth and not remained in it, nor have they been joined to the saints. On this account are they unfit for use." "Who are those that have rents?" "These are they who are at discord in their hearts one with another, and are not at peace amongst themselves: they indeed keep peace before each other, but when they separate one from the other, their wicked thoughts remain in their hearts. These, then, are the rents which are in the stones. But those which are shortened are those who have indeed believed, and have the larger share of righteousness; yet they have also a considerable share of iniquity, and therefore they are shortened and not whole." "But who are these, Lady, that are white and round, and yet do not fit into the building of the tower?" She answered and said, "How long will you be foolish and stupid, and continue to put every kind of question and understand nothing? These are those who have faith indeed, but they have also the riches of this world. When, therefore, tribulation comes, on account of their riches and business they deny the Lord." I answered and said to her, "When, then, will they be useful for the building, Lady?" "When the riches that now seduce them have been circumscribed, then will they be of use to God.[1] For as a round stone cannot become square unless portions be cut off and cast away, so also those who are rich in this world cannot be useful to the Lord unless their riches be cut down. Learn this first from your own case. When you were rich, you were useless; but now you are useful and fit for life. Be ye useful to God; for you also will be used as one of these stones.[2]

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[1] *Cast away.* Placed near the tower.—*Vat.*

CHAP. VII.

"Now the other stones which you saw cast far away from the tower, and falling upon the public road and rolling from it into pathless places, are those who have indeed believed, but through doubt have abandoned the true road. Thinking, then, that they could find a better, they wander and become wretched, and enter upon pathless places. But those which fell into the fire and were burned, are those who have departed for ever from the living God; nor does the thought of repentance ever come into their hearts, on account of their devotion to their lusts and to the crimes which they committed. Do you wish to know who are the others which fell near the waters, but could not be rolled into them? These are they who have heard the word, and wish to be baptized in the name of the Lord; but when the chastity demanded by the truth comes into their recollection, they draw back,[1] and again walk after their own wicked desires." She finished her exposition of the tower. But I, shameless as I yet was, asked her, "Is repentance possible for all those stones which have been cast away and did not fit into the building of the tower, and will they yet have a place in this tower?" "Repentance," said she, "is yet possible, but in this tower they cannot find a suitable place. But in another and much inferior place they will be laid, and that, too, only when they have been tortured and completed the days of their sins. And on this account will they be transferred, because they have partaken of the righteous Word. And then only will they be removed from their punishments when the thought of repenting of the evil deeds which they have done has come into their hearts. But if it does not come into their hearts, they will not be saved, on account of the hardness of their heart."

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[1] *Use . . . God.* Then will they be of use for the building of the Lord. —*Vat.*

[2] *For . . . stones.* For you yourself were also one of these stones.—*Vat.*

CHAP. VIII.

When then I ceased asking in regard to all these matters, she said to me, "Do you wish to see anything else?" And as I was extremely eager to see something more, my countenance beamed with joy. She looked towards me with a smile, and said, "Do you see seven women around the tower?" "I do, Lady," said I. "This tower," said she, "is supported by them according to the precept of the Lord. Listen now to their functions. The first of them, who is clasping her hands, is called Faith. Through her the elect of God are saved. Another, who has her garments tucked up and acts with vigour, is called Self-restraint. She is the daughter of Faith. Whoever then follows her will become happy in his life, because he will restrain himself from all evil works, believing that, if he restrain himself from all evil desire, he will inherit eternal life." "But the others," said I, "O Lady, who are they?" And she said to me, "They are daughters of each other. One of them is called Simplicity, another Guilelessness, another Chastity, another Intelligence, another Love. When then you do all the works of their mother, you will be able to live." "I should like to know," said I, "O Lady, what power each one of them possesses." "Hear," she said, "what power they have. Their powers are regulated[1] by each other, and follow each other in the order of their birth. For from Faith arises Self-restraint; from Self-restraint, Simplicity; from Simplicity, Guilelessness; from Guilelessness, Chastity; from Chastity, Intelligence; and from Intelligence, Love. The deeds, then, of these are pure, and chaste, and divine. Whoever devotes himself to these, and is able to hold fast by their works, shall have his dwelling in the tower with the saints of God." Then I asked her in regard to the ages, if now there is the conclusion. She cried out with a loud voice, "Foolish man! do you not see the tower yet building? When the tower is finished and built, then comes the end; and I assure you it will be soon finished. Ask me no more questions. Let you and all the saints be content with what I have called to your remembrance, and with my renewal of your spirits. But observe that it is not for your own sake only that these revelations have been made to you, but they have been given you that you may show them to all. For after three days—this you will take care to remember—I command you to speak all the words which I am to say to you into the ears of the saints, that hearing them and doing them, they may be cleansed from their iniquities, and you along with them."

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[1] The words "draw back" are represented in Greek by the word elsewhere translated "repent;" μετανοεῖν is thus used for a change of mind, either from evil to good, or good to evil.

CHAP. IX.

Give ear unto me, O Sons: I have brought you up in much simplicity, and guilelessness, and chastity, on account of the mercy of the Lord,[2] who has dropped His righteousness down upon you, that ye may be made righteous and holy[3] from all your iniquity and depravity; but you do not wish to rest from your iniquity. Now, therefore, listen to me, and be at peace one with another, and visit each other, and bear each other's burdens, and do not partake of God's creatures alone,[1] but give abundantly of them to the needy. For some through the abundance of their food produce weakness in their flesh, and thus corrupt their flesh; while the flesh of others who have no food is corrupted, because they have not sufficient nourishment. And on this account their bodies waste away. This intemperance in eating is thus injurious to you who have abundance and do not distribute among those who are needy. Give heed to the judgment that is to come. Ye, therefore, who are high in position, seek out the hungry as long as the tower is not yet finished; for after the tower is finished, you will wish to do good, but will find no opportunity. Give heed, therefore, ye who glory in your wealth, lest those who are needy should groan, and their groans should ascend to the Lord, and ye be shut out with all your goods beyond the gate of the tower. Wherefore I now say to you who preside over the church and love the first seats,[2] "Be not like to drug-mixers. For the drug-mixers carry their drugs in boxes, but ye carry your drug and poison in your heart. Ye are hardened, and do not wish to cleanse your hearts, and to add unity of aim to purity of heart, that you may have mercy from the great King. Take heed, therefore, children, that these dissensions of yours do not deprive you of your life. How will you instruct the elect of the Lord, if you yourselves have not instruction? Instruct each other therefore, and be at peace among yourselves, that I also, standing joyful before your Father, may give an account of you all to your Lord."

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[1] *Regulated.* They have equal powers, but their powers are connected with each other.—*Vat.*

[2] *The Lord.* God.—*Vat.*

[3] Or, that ye may be justified and sanctified.

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[1] I have translated the Vat. reading here. The Greek seems to mean, "Do not partake of God's creatures alone by way of mere relish." The Pal. has, "Do not partake of God's creatures alone joylessly, in a way calculated to defeat enjoyment of them."

[2] *Those that love the first seats*, omitted in Æth.

Chap. x.

On her ceasing to speak to me, those six young men who were engaged in building came and conveyed her to the tower, and other four lifted up the seat and carried it also to the tower. The faces of these last I did not see, for they were turned away from me. And as she was going, I asked her to reveal to me the meaning of the three forms in which she appeared to me. In reply she said to me: "With regard to them, you must ask another to reveal their meaning to you." For she had appeared to me, brethren, in the first vision the previous year under the form of an exceedingly old woman, sitting in a chair. In the second vision her face was youthful, but her skin and hair betokened age, and she stood while she spoke to me. She was also more joyful than on the first occasion. But in the third vision she was entirely youthful and exquisitely beautiful, except only that she had the hair of an old woman; but her face beamed with joy, and she sat on a seat. Now I was exceeding sad in regard to these appearances, for I longed much to know what the visions meant. Then I see the old woman in a vision of the night saying unto me: "Every prayer should be accompanied with humility: fast,[1] therefore, and you will obtain from the Lord what you beg." I fasted therefore for one day.

That very night there appeared to me a young man, who said, "Why do you frequently ask revelations in prayer? Take heed lest by asking many things you injure your flesh: be content with these revelations. Will you be able to see greater[2] revelations than those which you have seen?" I answered and said to him, "Sir, one thing only I ask, that in regard to these three forms the revelation may be rendered complete." He answered me, "How long are ye senseless?[3] But your doubts make you senseless, because you have not your hearts turned towards the Lord." But I answered and said to him, "From you, sir, we shall learn these things more accurately."

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[1] *Fast.* Believe.—*Pal.*

[2] Literally, "stronger," and therefore more injurious to the body.

[3] *How long.* Ye are not senseless.—*Vat.*

CHAP. XI.

"Hear then," said he, "with regard to the three forms, concerning which you are inquiring. Why in the first vision did she appear to you as an old woman seated on a chair? Because your spirit is now old and withered up, and has lost its power in consequence of your infirmities and doubts. For, like elderly men who have no hope of renewing their strength, and expect nothing but their last sleep, so you, weakened by worldly occupations, have given yourselves up to sloth, and have not cast your cares upon the Lord. Your spirit therefore is broken, and you have grown old in your sorrows." "I should like then to know, sir, why she sat on a chair?" He answered, "Because every weak person sits on a chair on account of his weakness, that his weakness may be sustained. Lo! you have the form of the first vision.

CHAP. XII.

"Now in the second vision you saw her standing with a youthful countenance, and more joyful than before; still she had the skin and hair of an aged woman. Hear," said he, "this parable also. When one becomes somewhat old, he despairs of himself on account of his weakness and poverty, and looks forward to nothing but the last day of his life. Then suddenly an inheritance is left him; and hearing of this, he rises up, and becoming exceeding joyful, he puts on strength. And now he no longer reclines, but stands up; and his spirit, already destroyed by his previous actions, is renewed,[1] and he no longer sits, but acts with vigour. So happened it with you on hearing the revelation which God gave you. For the Lord had compassion on you, and renewed your spirit, and ye laid aside your infirmities. Vigour arose within you, and ye grew strong in faith; and the Lord[2] seeing your strength, rejoiced. On this account He showed you the building of the tower; and He will show you other things, if you continue at peace with each other with all your heart.

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[1] *His spirit . . . renewed.* He is freed from his former sorrows.—*Vat.*

[2] *The Lord.* God.—*Vat.*

Chap. xiii.

"Now, in the third vision, you saw her still younger, and she was noble and joyful, and her shape was beautiful.[1] For, just as when some good news comes suddenly to one who is sad, immediately he forgets his former sorrows, and looks for nothing else than the good news which he has heard, and for the future is made strong for good, and his spirit is renewed on account of the joy which he has received; so ye also have received the renewal of your spirits by seeing these good things. As to your seeing her sitting on a seat, that means that her position is one of strength, for a seat has four feet and stands firmly. For the world also is kept together by means of four elements. Those, therefore, who repent completely and with the whole heart, will become young and firmly established. You now have the revelation completely given you. Make no further demands for revelations. If anything ought to be revealed, it will be revealed to you."

VISION FOURTH.

CONCERNING THE TRIAL AND TRIBULATION THAT ARE TO COME UPON MEN.

Chap. i.

Twenty days after the former vision I saw another vision, brethren—a representation of the tribulation that is to come. I was going to a country house along the Campanian road. Now the house lay about ten furlongs from the public road. The district is one rarely[2] traversed. And as I walked alone, I prayed the Lord to complete the revelations which He had made to me through His holy Church, that He might strengthen me,[3] and give repentance to all His servants who were going

[1] *Shape . . . beautiful.* Her countenance was serene.—*Vat.*

[2] *Rarely.* Easily.—*Lips.*, *Sin.*

[3] *He might strengthen me*, omitted in Vat.

astray, that His great and glorious name might be glorified because He vouchsafed to show me His marvels.[1] And while I was glorifying Him and giving Him thanks, a voice, as it were, answered me, "Doubt not, Hermas;" and I began to think with myself, and to say, "What reason have I to doubt—I who have been established by the Lord, and who have seen such glorious sights?" I advanced a little, brethren, and, lo! I see dust rising even to the heavens. I began to say to myself, "Are cattle approaching and raising the dust?" It was about a furlong's distance from me. And, lo! I see the dust rising more and more, so that I imagined that it was something sent from God. But the sun now shone out a little, and, lo! I see a mighty beast like a whale, and out of its mouth fiery locusts proceeded. But the size of that beast was about a hundred feet, and it had a head like an urn.[2] I began to weep, and to call on the Lord to rescue me from it. Then I remembered the word which I had heard, "Doubt not, O Hermas." Clothed, therefore, my brethren, with faith in the Lord,[3] and remembering the great things which He had taught me, I boldly faced the beast. Now that beast came on with such noise and force, that it could itself have destroyed a city.[4] I came near it, and the monstrous beast stretched itself out on the ground, and showed nothing but its tongue, and did not stir at all until I had passed by it. Now the beast had four colours on its head—black, then fiery and bloody, then golden, and lastly white.

CHAP. II.

Now after I had passed by the wild beast, and had moved forward about thirty feet, lo! a virgin meets me, adorned as if she were proceeding from the bridal chamber, clothed entirely in white, and with white sandals, and veiled up to her forehead, and her head was covered by a hood. And she had white hair. I knew from my former visions that this was the Church, and I became more joyful. She saluted me, and said, "Hail, O man!" And I returned her salutation, and said, "Lady, hail!" And she answered, and said to me, "Has nothing crossed your path?" I say, "I was met by a beast of such a size that it could destroy peoples, but through the power of the Lord[1] and His great mercy I escaped from it." "Well did you escape from it," says she, "because you cast your care[2] on God,[3] and opened your heart to the Lord, believing that you can be saved by no other than by His great and glorious name. On this account the Lord has sent His angel, who has rule over the beasts, and whose name is Thegri,[4] and has shut up its mouth, so that it cannot tear you. You have escaped from great tribulation on account of your faith, and because you did not doubt in the presence of such a beast. Go, therefore, and tell the elect of the Lord[5] His mighty deeds, and say to them that this beast is a type of the great tribulation that is coming. If then ye prepare yourselves, and repent with all your heart, and turn to the Lord, it will be possible for you to escape it, if your heart be pure and spotless, and ye spend the rest of the days of your life in serving the Lord blamelessly. Cast your cares upon the Lord, and He will direct them. Trust the Lord, ye who doubt, for He is all-powerful, and can turn His anger away from you, and send scourges[6] on the doubters. Woe to those who hear these words, and despise them: better were it for them not to have been born."[7]

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[1] *For . . . marvels.* This clause is connected with the subsequent sentence in Vat.

[2] Comp. Rev. xi. 7, xii. 3, xiii. 1, xvii. 8.

[3] God.—*Lips.*, *Vat.*

[4] The Vat. adds: with a stroke.

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[1] *The Lord.* God.—*Vat.*

[2] *Care.* Loneliness and anxiety.—*Vat.*

[3] *God.* The Lord.—*Vat.*

[4] *Thegri.* The name of this angel is variously written, Hegrin, Tegri. Some have supposed the word to be for *ἄγριον*, *the wild;* some have taken it to mean "the watchful," as in Dan. iv. 10, 20; and some take it to be the name of a fabulous lion.

[5] *The Lord.* God.—*Vat.*

[6] *Send scourges.* Send you help. But woe to the doubters who.—*Vat.*

[7] Matt. xxvi. 24.

CHAP. III.

I asked her about the four colours which the beast had on his head. And she answered, and said to me, "Again you are inquisitive in regard to such matters." "Yea, lady," said I, "make known to me what they are." "Listen," said she: "the black is the world in which we dwell: but the fiery and bloody points out that the world must perish through blood and fire: but the golden part are you who have escaped from this world. For as gold is tested by fire, and thus becomes useful, so are you tested who dwell in it. Those, therefore, who continue stedfast, and are put through the fire, will be purified by means of it. For as gold casts away its dross, so also will ye cast away all sadness and straitness, and will be made pure so as to fit into the building of the tower. But the white part is the age that is to come, in which the elect of God will dwell, since those elected by God to eternal life will be spotless and pure. Wherefore cease not speaking these things into the ears of the saints. This then is the type of the great tribulation that is to come. If ye wish it, it will be nothing. Remember those things which were written down before." And saying this, she departed. But I saw not into what place she retired. There was a noise, however, and I turned round in alarm, thinking that that beast was coming.

VISION FIFTH.

CONCERNING THE COMMANDMENTS.

After I had been praying at home, and had sat down on my couch, there entered a man of glorious aspect, dressed like a shepherd, with a white goat's skin, a wallet on his shoulders, and a rod in his hand, and saluted me. I returned his salutation. And straightway he sat down beside me, and said to me, "I have been sent by a most venerable angel to dwell with you the remaining days of your life." And I thought that he had come to tempt me, and I said to him, "Who are you? For I know him to whom I have been entrusted." He said to me, "Do you not know me?" "No," said I. "I," said he, "am that shepherd to whom you have been entrusted." And while he yet spake, his figure was changed; and then I knew that it was he to whom I had been entrusted. And straightway I became confused, and fear took hold of me, and I was overpowered with deep sorrow that I had answered him so wickedly and foolishly. But he answered, and said to me, "Do not be confounded, but receive strength from the commandments which I am going to give you. For I have been sent," said he, "to show you again all the things which you saw before, especially those of them which are useful to you. First of all, then, write down my commandments and similitudes, and you will write the other things as I shall show you. For this purpose," said he, "I command you to write down the commandments and similitudes first, that you may read them easily, and be able to keep them."[1] Accordingly I wrote down the commandments and similitudes, exactly as he had ordered me. If then, when you have heard these, ye keep them and walk in them, and practise them with pure minds, you will receive from the Lord all that He has promised to you. But if, after you have heard them, ye do not repent, but continue to add to your sins, then shall ye receive from the Lord the opposite things. All these words did the shepherd, even the angel of repentance, command me to write.

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[1] *Keep them.* That you may be able to keep them more easily by reading them from time to time.—*Vat.*

BOOK SECOND.—COMMANDMENTS.

COMMANDMENT FIRST.

On Faith in God.

FIRST of all, believe that there is one God who created and finished all things, and made all things out of nothing. He alone is able to contain the whole, but Himself cannot be contained.[1] Have faith therefore in Him, and fear Him; and fearing Him, exercise self-control. Keep these commands, and you will cast away from you all wickedness, and put on the strength of righteousness, and live to God, if you keep this commandment.

COMMANDMENT SECOND.

On avoiding evil-speaking, and on giving alms in simplicity.

He said to me, "Be simple and guileless, and you will be as the children who know not the wickedness that ruins the life of men. First, then, speak evil of no one, nor listen with pleasure to any one who speaks evil of another. But if you listen, you will partake of the sin of him who speaks evil, if you believe the slander which you hear;[2] for believing it, you will also have something to say against your brother. Thus, then, will you be guilty of the sin of him who slanders. For slander is evil[1] and an unsteady demon. It never abides in peace, but always remains in discord. Keep yourself from it, and you will always be at peace with all. Put on a holiness in which there is no wicked cause of offence, but all deeds that are equable and joyful. Practise goodness; and from the rewards of your labours, which God gives you, give to all the needy in simplicity, not hesitating as to whom you are to give or not to give. Give to all, for God wishes His gifts to be shared amongst all. They who receive, will render an account to God why and for what they have received. For the afflicted who receive will not be condemned,[2] but they who receive on false pretences will suffer punishment. He, then, who gives is guiltless. For as he received from the Lord, so has he accomplished his service in simplicity, not hesitating as to whom he should give and to whom he should not give. This service, then, if accomplished in simplicity, is glorious with God. He, therefore, who thus ministers in simplicity, will live to God.[3] Keep therefore these commandments, as I have given them to you, that your repentance and the repentance of your house may be found in simplicity,[4] and your heart may be pure and stainless."

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[1] *Contained.* — Vat. and Pal. add: and who cannot be defined in words, nor conceived by the mind.

[2] *If . . . brother.* And if you believe the slanderer, you will also be guilty of sin, in that you have believed one who speaks evil of your brother.—*Vat.* For if you give your assent to the detractor, and believe what is said of one in his absence, you also will be like to him, and acting ruinously towards your brother, and you are guilty of the same sin as the person who slanders.—*Pal.*

COMMANDMENT THIRD.

On avoiding falsehood, and on the repentance of Hermas for his dissimulation.

Again he said to me, "Love the truth, and let nothing but truth proceed from your mouth, that the spirit which God has placed in your flesh may be found truthful before all men; and the Lord, who dwelleth in you,[5] will be glorified, because the Lord is truthful in every word, and in Him is no falsehood. They therefore who lie deny the Lord, and rob Him, not giving back to Him the deposit which they have received. For they received from Him a spirit free from falsehood. If they give him back this spirit untruthful, they pollute the commandment of the Lord, and become robbers." On hearing these words, I wept most violently. When he saw me weeping, he said to me, "Why do you weep?" And I said, "Because, sir, I know not if I can be saved." "Why?" said he. And I said, "Because, sir, I never spake a true word in my life, but have ever spoken cunningly to all,[1] and have affirmed a lie for the truth to all; and no one ever contradicted me, but credit was given to my word. How then can I live, since I have acted thus?" And he said to me, "Your feelings are indeed right and sound, for you ought as a servant of God to have walked in truth, and not to have joined an evil conscience with the spirit of truth, nor to have caused sadness to the holy and true Spirit."[2] And I said to him, "Never, sir, did I listen to these words with so much attention." And he said to me, "Now you hear them, and keep them, that even the falsehoods which you formerly told in your transactions may come to be believed through the truthfulness of your present statements. For even they can become worthy of credit. If you keep these precepts, and from this time forward you speak nothing but the truth,[3] it will be possible for you to obtain life. And whosoever shall hear this commandment, and depart from that great wickedness falsehood, shall live to God."

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[1] For slander is ruinous.—*Vat.* For it is wicked to slander any one.—*Pal.*

[2] *For . . . condemned*, om. in Vat.

[3] *This service . . . God.* And he has accomplished this service to God simply and gloriously.—*Vat.*

[4] The Vat. adds: and a blessing may fall on your house.

[5] *Dwelleth in you.* Who put the spirit within you.—*Vat.*

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[1] *Cunningly to all.* Have ever lived in dissimulation.—*Vat.* Lived cunningly with all.—*Pal.*

[2] The Vat. adds: of God.

[3] *For . . . truth.* For even they can become worthy of credit, if you will speak the truth in future; and if you keep the truth.—*Vat.*

COMMANDMENT FOURTH.

On putting one's wife away for adultery.

CHAP. I.

"I charge you," said he, "to guard your chastity, and let no thought enter your heart of another man's wife, or of fornication, or of similar iniquities; for by doing this you commit a great sin. But if you always remember your own wife, you will never sin. For if this thought[1] enter your heart, then you will sin; and if, in like manner, you think other wicked thoughts, you commit sin. For this thought is great sin in a servant of God. But if any one commit this wicked deed, he works death for himself. Attend, therefore, and refrain from this thought; for where purity dwells, there iniquity ought not to enter the heart of a righteous man." I said to him, "Sir, permit me to ask you a few questions."[2] "Say on," said he. And I said to him, "Sir, if any one has a wife who trusts in the Lord, and if he detect her in adultery, does the man sin if he continue to live with her?" And he said to me, "As long as he remains ignorant of her sin, the husband commits no transgression in living with her. But if the husband know that his wife has gone astray, and if the woman does not repent, but persists in her fornication, and yet the husband continues to live with her, he also is guilty of her crime, and a sharer in her adultery." And I said to him, "What then, sir, is the husband to do, if his wife continue in her vicious practices?" And he said, "The husband should put her away, and remain by himself. But if he put his wife away and marry another, he also commits adultery."[1] And I said to him, "What if the woman put away should repent, and wish to return to her husband: shall she not be taken back by her husband?" And he said to me, "Assuredly. If the husband do not take her back, he sins, and brings a great sin upon himself; for he ought to take back the sinner who has repented. But not frequently. For there is but one repentance to the servants of God. In case, therefore, that the divorced wife may repent, the husband ought not to marry another, when his wife has been put away. In this matter man and woman are to be treated exactly in the same way. Moreover, adultery is committed not only by those who pollute their flesh, but by those who imitate the heathen in their actions.[2] Wherefore if any one[3] persists in such deeds, and repents not, withdraw from him, and cease to live with him, otherwise you are a sharer in his sin. Therefore has the injunction been laid on you, that you should remain by yourselves, both man and woman, for in such persons repentance can take place. But I do not," said he, "give opportunity for the doing of these deeds, but that he who has sinned may sin no more. But with regard to his previous trangressions, there is One who is able to provide a cure;[4] for it is He, indeed, who has power over all."

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[1] *This thought.* The thought of another man's wife or of fornication.

[2] *Questions.* "I charge you," said he, "to guard your chastity, and let no thought enter your heart of another man's marriage (*i.e.* wife), or of fornication, for this produces a great trangression. But be always mindful of the Lord at all hours, and you will never sin. For if this very wicked thought enter your heart, you commit a great sin, and they who practise such deeds follow the way of death. Take heed, therefore, and refrain from this thought. For where chastity remains in the heart of a righteous man, never ought there to arise any evil thought." I said to him, "Sir, permit me to say a few words to you." "Say on," said he.—*Vat.*

CHAP. II.

I asked him again, and said, "Since the Lord has vouchsafed to dwell always with me, bear with me while I utter a few words;[5] for I understand nothing, and my heart has been hardened by my previous mode of life. Give me understanding, for I am exceedingly dull, and I understand absolutely nothing." And he answered and said unto me, "I am set over repentance, and I give understanding to all who repent. Do you not think," he said, "that it is great wisdom to repent? for repentance is great wisdom.[1] For he who has sinned understands that he acted wickedly in the sight of the Lord, and remembers the actions he has done, and he repents, and no longer acts wickedly, but does good munificently, and humbles and torments his soul because he has sinned. You see, therefore, that repentance is great wisdom." And I said to him, "It is for this reason, sir, that I inquire carefully into all things, especially because I am a sinner; that I may know what works I should do, that I may live: for my sins are many and various." And he said to me, "You shall live if you keep my commandments, and walk in them; and whosoever shall hear and keep these commandments, shall live to God."

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[1] Matt. v. 32, xix. 9.

[2] *Who . . . actions.* But he who makes an image also commits adultery.—*Vat.*

[3] *Any one.* She.—*Vat.*

[4] *There . . . cure.* God, who has power to heal, will provide a remedy.—*Vat.*

[5] *Bear . . . words.* Give me a few words of explanation.—*Vat.*

CHAP. III.

And I said to him, "I should like to continue my questions." "Speak on," said he. And I said, "I heard, sir, some teachers maintain that there is no other repentance than that which takes place, when we descended into the water and received remission of our former sins." He said to me, "That was sound doctrine which you heard; for that is really the case. For he who has received remission of his sins ought not to sin any more, but to live in purity. Since, however, you inquire diligently into all things, I will point this also out to you, not as giving occasion for error to those who are to believe, or have lately believed, in the Lord. For those who have now believed, and those who are to believe, have not repentance for their sins; but they have remission of their previous sins. For to those who have been called before these days, the Lord has set repentance. For the Lord, knowing the heart, and foreknowing all things, knew the weakness of men and the manifold wiles of the devil, that he would inflict some evil on the servants of God, and would act wickedly towards them.[2] The Lord, therefore, being merciful, has had mercy on the work of His hand, and has set repentance for them; and He has entrusted to me power over this repentance. And therefore I say to you, that if any one is tempted by the devil, and sins after that great and holy calling in which the Lord has called His people to everlasting life,[1] he has opportunity to repent but once. But if he should sin frequently after this, and then repent, to such a man his repentance will be of no avail; for with difficulty will he live."[2] And I said, "Sir, I feel that life has come back to me in listening attentively to these commandments; for I know that I shall be saved, if in future I sin no more." And he said, "You will be saved, you and all who keep these commandments."

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[1] *Repentance . . . wisdom.* For he who repents obtains great intelligence. For he feels that he has sinned and acted wickedly.—*Vat.*

[2] *For . . . them.* Since God knows the thoughts of all hearts and the

CHAP. IV.

And again I asked him, saying, "Sir, since you have been so patient in listening to me, will you show me this also?" "Speak," said he. And I said, "If a wife or husband die, and the widower or widow marry, does he or she commit sin?" "There is no sin in marrying again," said he; "but if they remain unmarried, they gain greater honour and glory with the Lord; but if they marry, they do not sin. Guard, therefore, your chastity and purity, and you will live to God. What commandments I now give you, and what I am to give, keep from henceforth, yea, from the very day when you were entrusted to me, and I will dwell in your house. And your former sins will be forgiven, if you keep my commandments. And all shall be forgiven who keep these my commandments, and walk in this chastity."

weakness of men, and the manifold wickedness of the devil which he practises in plotting against the servants of God, and in malignant designs against them.—*Vat.*

[1] *In . . . life.* These words occur only in Pal.

[2] *With . . . live.* With difficulty will he live to God.—*Vat.* and *Pal.*

COMMANDMENT FIFTH.

Of sadness of heart, and of patience.

Chap. I.

"Be patient," said he, "and of good understanding, and you will rule over every wicked work, and you will work all righteousness. For if you be patient, the Holy Spirit that dwells in you will be pure. He will not be darkened by any evil spirit, but, dwelling in a broad region,[1] he will rejoice and be glad; and with the vessel in which he dwells he will serve God in gladness, having great peace within himself.[2] But if any outburst of anger take place, forthwith the Holy Spirit, who is tender, is straitened, not having a pure place, and He seeks to depart. For he is choked by the vile spirit, and cannot attend on the Lord as he wishes, for anger pollutes him. For the Lord dwells in long-suffering, but the devil in anger.[3] The two spirits, then, when dwelling in the same habitation, are at discord with each other, and are troublesome to that man in whom they dwell. For if an exceedingly small piece of wormwood be taken and put into a jar of honey, is not the honey entirely destroyed, and does not the exceedingly small piece of wormwood entirely take away the sweetness of the honey, so that it no longer affords any gratification to its owner, but has become bitter, and lost its use? But if the wormwood be not put into the honey, then the honey remains sweet, and is of use to its owner. You see, then, that patience is sweeter than honey, and useful to God, and the Lord dwells in it.

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[1] It will be noticed that space is attributed to the heart or soul, and that joy and goodness expand the heart, and produce width, while sadness and wickedness contract and straiten.

[2] *But . . . himself.* But rejoicing he will be expanded, and he will feast in the vessel in which he dwells, and he will serve the Lord joyfully in the midst of great peace.—*Vat.* He will serve the Lord in great gladness, having abundance of all things within himself.—*Pal.*

[3] *For . . . anger*, omitted in Vat.; fuller in Pal.: For the Lord dwells in calmness and greatness of mind, but anger is the devil's house of entertainment.

But anger is bitter and useless. Now, if anger be mingled with patience, the patience is polluted,[1] and its prayer is not then useful to God." "I should like, sir," said I, "to know the power of anger, that I may guard myself against it." And he said, "If you do not guard yourself against it, you and your house lose all hope of salvation. Guard yourself, therefore, against it. For I am with you, and all will depart from it who repent with their whole heart.[2] For I will be with them, and I will save them all. For all are justified by the most holy angel.[3]

CHAP. II.

"Hear now," said he, "how wicked is the action of anger, and in what way it overthrows the servants of God by its action, and turns them from righteousness. But it does not turn away those who are full of faith, nor does it act on them, for the power of the Lord is with them. It is the thoughtless and doubting that it turns away.[4] For as soon as it sees such men standing stedfast, it throws itself into their hearts, and for nothing at all the man or woman becomes embittered on account of occurrences in their daily life, as for instance on account of their food, or some superfluous word that has been uttered, or on account of some friend, or some gift or debt, or some such senseless affair. For all these things are foolish and empty and unprofitable to the servants of God. But patience is great, and mighty, and strong, and calm in the midst of great enlargement, joyful, rejoicing, free from care, glorifying God at all times, having no bitterness in her, and abiding continually meek and quiet. Now this patience dwells with those who have complete faith. But anger is foolish, and fickle, and senseless. Now, of folly is begotten bitterness, and of bitterness anger, and of anger frenzy. This frenzy, the product of so many evils, ends in great and incurable sin. For when all these spirits dwell in one vessel in which the Holy Spirit also dwells, the vessel cannot contain them, but overflows. The tender Spirit, then, not being accustomed to dwell with the wicked spirit, nor with hardness, withdraws from such a man, and seeks to dwell with meekness and peacefulness. Then, when he withdraws from the man in whom he dwelt, the man is emptied of the righteous Spirit; and being henceforward filled with evil spirits, he is in a state of anarchy in every action, being dragged hither and thither by the evil spirits, and there is a complete darkness in his mind as to everything good. This, then, is what happens to all the angry. Wherefore do you depart from that most wicked spirit anger, and put on patience, and resist anger and bitterness, and you will be found in company with the purity which is loved by the Lord.[1] Take care, then, that you neglect not by any chance this commandment: for if you obey this commandment, you will be able to keep all the other commandments which I am to give you. Be strong, then, in these commandments, and put on power, and let all put on power, as many as wish to walk in them."[2]

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[1] *Patience is polluted.* The mind is distressed.—*Vat.*; om. in Pal.

[2] *I . . . heart.* I, the angel [or messenger] of righteousness, am with you, and all who depart from anger, and repent with their whole heart, will live to God.—*Vat.*

[3] *Are justified.* Are received into the number of the just by the most holy angel (or messenger).—*Pal.*

[4] *Hear . . . away.* "Hear now," said he, "how great is the wickedness of anger, and how injurious, and in what way it overthrows the servants of God. For they who are full of faith receive no harm from it, for the power of God is with them; for it is the doubters and those destitute [of faith] that it overturns."—*Vat.*

COMMANDMENT SIXTH.

How to recognise the two spirits attendant on each man, and how to distinguish the suggestions of the one from those of the other.

CHAP. I.

"I gave you," he said, "directions in the first commandment to attend to faith, and fear, and self-restraint." "Even so, sir," said I. And he said, "Now I wish to show you the powers of these, that you may know what power each possesses. For their powers are double, and have relation alike to the righteous and the unrighteous. Trust you, therefore, the righteous, but put no trust in the unrighteous. For the path of righteousness is straight, but that of unrighteousness is crooked. But walk in the straight and even way, and mind not the crooked. For the crooked path has no roads, but has many pathless places and stumbling-blocks in it, and it is rough and thorny. It is injurious to those who walk therein. But they who walk in the straight road walk evenly without stumbling, because it is neither rough nor thorny. You see, then, that it is better to walk in this road." "I wish to go by this road," said I. "You will go by it," said he; "and whoever turns to the Lord with all his heart will walk in it."

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[1] *You . . . Lord.* You will be found by God in the company of purity and chastity.—*Vat.*

[2] *And put . . . them.* That you may live to God, and they who keep these commandments will live to God.—*Vat.*

CHAP. II.

"Hear now," said he, "in regard to faith. There are two angels with a man—one of righteousness, and the other of iniquity." And I said to him, "How, sir, am I to know the powers of these, for both angels dwell with me?" "Hear," said he, "and understand them. The angel of righteousness is gentle and modest, meek and peaceful. When, therefore, he ascends into your heart, forthwith[1] he talks to you of righteousness, purity, chastity, contentment, and of every righteous deed and glorious virtue. When all these ascend into your heart,[1] know that the angel of righteousness is with you. These are the deeds of the angel of righteousness. Trust him, then, and his works. Look now at the works of the angel of iniquity. First, he is wrathful, and bitter, and foolish, and his works are evil, and ruin the servants of God. When, then, he ascends into your heart, know him by his works." And I said to him, "How, sir, I shall perceive him, I do not know." "Hear and understand," said he. "When anger comes upon you, or harshness, know that he is in you; and you will know this to be the case also, when you are attacked by a longing after many transactions,[1] and the richest delicacies, and drunken revels, and divers luxuries, and things improper, and by a hankering after women, and by overreaching, and pride, and blustering, and by whatever is like to these. When these ascend into your heart, know that the angel of iniquity is in you. Now that you know his works, depart from him, and in no respect trust him, because his deeds are evil, and unprofitable to the servants of God. These, then, are the actions of both angels. Understand them, and trust the angel of righteousness; but depart from the angel of iniquity, because his instruction is bad in every deed.[2] For though a man be most faithful,[3] and the thought of this angel ascend into his heart, that man or woman must sin. On the other hand, be a man or woman ever so bad, yet, if the works of the angel of righteousness ascend into his or her heart, he or she must do something good. You see, therefore, that it is good to follow the angel of righteousness, but to bid farewell[4] to the angel of iniquity.

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[1] *Forthwith . . . heart*, omitted in Lips.

"This commandment exhibits the deeds of faith, that you may trust the works of the angel of righteousness, and doing them you may live to God. But believe that the works of the angel of iniquity are hard. If you refuse to do them, you will live to God."

COMMANDMENT SEVENTH.

On fearing God, and not fearing the devil.

"Fear," said he, "the Lord, and keep His commandments.[5] For if you keep the commandments of God, you will be powerful in every action, and every one of your actions will be incomparable. For, fearing the Lord, you will do all things well. This is the fear which you ought to have, that you may be saved. But fear not the devil; for, fearing the Lord, you will have dominion over the devil, for there is no power in him. But he in whom there is no power ought on no account to be an object of fear; but He in whom there is glorious power is truly to be feared. For every one that has power ought to be feared; but he who has not power is despised by all. Fear, therefore, the deeds of the devil, since they are wicked. For, fearing the Lord, you will not do these deeds, but will refrain from them. For fears are of two kinds: for if you do not wish to do that which is evil, fear the Lord, and you will not do it; but, again, if you wish to do that which is good, fear the Lord, and you will do it. Wherefore the fear of the Lord is strong, and great, and glorious. Fear, then, the Lord, and you will live to Him, and as many as fear Him and keep His commandments will live to God." "Why,"[1] said I, "sir, did you say in regard to those that keep His commandments, that they will live to God?" "Because," says he, "all creation fears the Lord, but all creation does not keep His commandments. They only who fear the Lord and keep His commandments have life with God;[2] but as to those who keep not His commandments, there is no life in them."

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[1] *Transactions.* I think the writer means, when a longing is felt to engage with too great devotedness to business and the pursuit of wealth.

[2] *Trust . . . deed.* Trust the angel of righteousness, because his instruction is good.—*Vat.*

[3] *Faithful.* Most happy.—*Vat.*

[4] *But to bid farewell.* The Vat. ends quite differently from this point: If, then, you follow him, and trust to his works, you will live to God; and they who trust to his works will live to God.—*Vat.*

[5] Eccles. xii. 13.

COMMANDMENT EIGHTH.

We ought to shun that which is evil, and do that which is good.

"I told you," said he, "that the creatures of God are double, for restraint also is double; for in some cases restraint has to be exercised, in others there is no need of restraint." "Make known to me, sir," say I, "in what cases restraint has to be exercised, and in what cases it has not." "Restrain yourself in regard to evil, and do it not; but exercise no restraint in regard to good, but do it. For if you exercise restraint in the doing of good, you will commit a great sin;[1] but if you exercise restraint, so as not to do that which is evil, you are practising great righteousness. Restrain yourself, therefore, from all iniquity, and do that which is good." "What, sir," say I, "are the evil deeds from which we must restrain ourselves?" "Hear," says he: "from adultery and fornication, from unlawful revelling, from wicked luxury, from indulgence in many kinds of food and the extravagance of riches, and from boastfulness, and haughtiness, and insolence, and lies, and backbiting, and hypocrisy, from the remembrance of wrong, and from all slander. These are the deeds that are most wicked in the life of men. From all these deeds, therefore, the servant of God must restrain himself. For he who does not restrain himself from these, cannot live to God. Listen, then, to the deeds that accompany these." "Are there, sir," said I, "any other evil deeds?" "There are," says he; "and many of them, too, from which the servant of God must restrain himself—theft, lying, robbery, false witness, overreaching, wicked lust, deceit, vainglory, boastfulness, and all other vices like to these." "Do you not think that these are really wicked?" "Exceedingly wicked in the servants of God. From all of these the servant of God must restrain himself. Restrain yourself, then, from all these, that you may live to God, and you will be enrolled amongst those who restrain themselves in regard to these matters. These, then, are the things from which you must restrain yourself.

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[1] *Why . . . they only who fear the Lord*, om. in Vat.

[2] *God.* Lord.—*Vat.*

"But listen," says he, "to the things in regard to which you have not to exercise self-restraint, but which you ought to do. Restrain not yourself in regard to that which is good, but do it." "And tell me, sir," say I, "the nature of the good deeds, that I may walk in them and wait on them, so that doing them I can be saved." "Listen," says he, "to the good deeds which you ought to do, and in regard to which there is no self-restraint requisite. First of all there is faith, then fear of the Lord, love, concord, words of righteousness, truth, patience. Than these, nothing is better in the life of men. If any one attend to these, and restrain himself not from them, blessed is he in his life. Then there are the following attendant on these: helping widows, looking after orphans and the needy, rescuing the servants of God from necessities, the being hospitable—for in hospitality good-doing finds a field—never opposing any one, the being quiet, having fewer needs than all men, reverencing the aged, practising righteousness, watching the brotherhood, bearing insolence, being long-suffering, encouraging those who are sick in soul, not casting those who have fallen into sin from the faith, but turning them back and restoring them to peace of mind, admonishing sinners, not oppressing debtors and the needy, and if there are any other actions like these. Do these seem to you good?" says he. "For what, sir," say I, "is better than these?" "Walk then in them," says he, "and restrain not yourself from them, and you will live to God.[1] Keep, therefore, this commandment. If you do good, and restrain not yourself from it, you will live to God. All who act thus will live to God. And, again, if you refuse to do evil, and restrain yourself from it, you will live to God. And all will live to God who keep these commandments, and walk in them."

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[1] *For . . . sin*, om. in Lips.

COMMANDMENT NINTH.

Prayer must be made to God without ceasing, and with unwavering confidence.

He says to me, "Put away doubting from you, and do not hesitate to ask of the Lord, saying to yourself, 'How can I ask of the Lord and receive from Him, seeing I have sinned so much against Him?' Do not thus reason with yourself, but with all your heart turn to the Lord, and ask of Him without doubting, and you will know the multitude of His tender mercies; that He will never leave you, but fulfil the request of your soul. For He is not like men, who remember evils done against them; but He Himself remembers not evils, and has compassion on His own creature. Cleanse, therefore, your heart from all the vanities of this world, and from the words already mentioned, and ask of the Lord and you will receive all, and in none of your requests will you be denied which you make to the Lord without doubting. But if you doubt in your heart, you will receive none of your requests. For those who doubt regarding God are double-souled, and obtain not one of their requests. But those who are perfect in faith ask everything, trusting in the Lord; and they obtain, because they ask nothing doubting, and not being double-souled. For every double-souled man, even if he repent, will with difficulty be saved.[1] Cleanse your heart, therefore, from all doubt, and put on faith, because it is strong, and trust God that you will obtain from Him all that you ask. And if at any time, after you have asked of the Lord, you are slower in obtaining your request [than you expected], do not doubt because you have not soon obtained the request of your soul; for invariably it is on account of some temptation or some sin of which you are ignorant that you are slower in obtaining your request. Wherefore do not cease to make the request of your soul, and you will obtain it. But if you grow weary and waver in your request, blame yourself, and not Him who does not give to you. Consider this doubting state of mind, for it is wicked and senseless, and turns many away entirely from the faith, even though they be very strong. For this doubting is the daughter of the devil, and acts exceedingly wickedly to the servants of God. Despise, then, doubting, and gain the mastery over it in everything; clothing yourself with faith, which is strong and powerful. For faith promises all things, perfects all things; but doubt having no thorough faith in itself, fails in every work which it undertakes. You see, then," says he, "that faith is from above—from the Lord[2]—and has great power; but doubt is an earthly spirit, coming from the devil, and has no power. Serve, then, that which has power, namely faith, and keep away from doubt, which has no power, and you will live to God. And all will live to God whose minds have been set on these things."

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[1] *From them . . . all who act thus will love to God*, om. in Vat., which ends thus: If you keep all these commandments, you will live to God, and all who keep these commandments will live to God.

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[1] *With difficulty be saved.* Will with difficulty live to God.—*Vat.*

[2] *Lord.* God.—*Vat.*

COMMANDMENT TENTH.

Of grief, and not grieving the Spirit of God which is in us.

CHAP. I.

"Remove from you," says he, "grief; for she is the sister of doubt and anger." "How, sir," say I, "is she the sister of these? for anger, doubt, and grief seem to be quite different from each other." "You are senseless, O man. Do you not perceive that grief is more wicked than all the spirits, and most terrible to the servants of God, and more than all other spirits destroys man and crushes out the Holy Spirit, and yet, on the other hand, she saves him?" "I am senseless, sir," say I, "and do not understand these parables. For how she can crush out, and on the other hand save, I do not perceive." "Listen," says he. "Those who have never searched for the truth, nor investigated the nature of the Divinity, but have simply believed, when they devote themselves to and become mixed up with business, and wealth, and heathen friendships, and many other actions of this world,[1] do not perceive the parables of Divinity; for their minds are darkened by these actions, and they are corrupted and become dried up. Even as beautiful vines, when they are neglected, are withered up by thorns and divers plants, so men who have believed, and have afterwards fallen away into many of those actions above mentioned, go astray in their minds, and lose all understanding in regard to righteousness; for if they hear of righteousness, their minds are occupied with their business,[2] and they give no heed at all. Those, on the other hand, who have the fear of God, and search after Godhead and truth, and have their hearts turned to the Lord, quickly perceive and understand what is said to them, because they have the fear of the Lord in them. For where the Lord dwells, there is much understanding. Cleave, then, to the Lord, and you will understand and perceive all things.

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[1] The Vat. has here a considerable number of sentences, found in the Greek, the Palatine, and the Æthiopic, in Commandment Eleventh. In consequence of this transference, the Eleventh Commandment in the Vatican differs considerably from the others in the position of the sentences, but otherwise it is substantially the same.

[2] *And . . . business.* This part is omitted in the Leipsic Codex, and is supplied from the Latin and Æthiopic translations.

CHAP. II.

"Hear, then," says he, "foolish man, how grief crushes out the Holy Spirit, and on the other hand saves. When the doubting man attempts any deed, and fails in it on account of his doubt, this grief enters into the man, and grieves the Holy Spirit, and crushes him out. Then, on the other hand, when anger attaches itself to a man in regard to any matter, and he is embittered, then grief enters into the heart of the man who was irritated, and he is grieved at the deed which he did, and repents that he has wrought a wicked deed. This grief, then, appears to be accompanied by salvation, because the man, after having done a wicked deed, repented.[1] Both actions grieve the Spirit: doubt, because it did not accomplish its object; and anger grieves the Spirit, because it did what was wicked. Both these are grievous to the Holy Spirit—doubt and anger. Wherefore remove grief from you, and crush not the Holy Spirit which dwells in you, lest he entreat God[2] against you, and he withdraw from you. For the Spirit of God which has been granted to us to dwell in this body does not endure grief nor straitness. Wherefore put on cheerfulness, which always is agreeable and acceptable to God,[3] and rejoice in it. For every cheerful man does what is good, and minds what is good, and despises grief;[4] but the sorrowful man always acts wickedly. First, he acts wickedly because he grieves the Holy Spirit, which was given to man a cheerful Spirit. Secondly, Grieving the Holy Spirit, he works iniquity, neither entreating the Lord nor confessing[1] to Him. For the entreaty of the sorrowful man has no power to ascend to the altar of God." "Why," say I, "does not the entreaty of the grieved man ascend to the altar?" "Because," says he, "grief sits in his heart. Grief, then, mingled with his entreaty, does not permit the entreaty to ascend pure to the altar of God. For as vinegar and wine, when mixed in the same vessel, do not give the same pleasure [as wine alone gives], so grief mixed with the Holy Spirit does not produce the same entreaty [as would be produced by the Holy Spirit alone]. Cleanse yourself from this wicked grief, and you will live to God; and all will live to God who drive away grief from them, and put on all cheerfulness."

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[1] *This . . . repented*, omitted in Vat.

[2] *God.* The Lord.—*Vat.*, *Æth.*

[3] *God.* The Lord.—*Vat.*

[4] *Grief.* Injustice.—*Vat.*

COMMANDMENT ELEVENTH.

The Spirit and prophets to be tried by their works; also of the two kinds of spirit.

He pointed out to me some men sitting on a seat, and one man sitting on a chair. And he says to me, "Do you see the persons sitting on the seat?" "I do, sir," said I. "These," says he, "are the faithful, and he who sits on the chair is a false prophet, ruining the minds of the servants of God.[2] It is the doubters, not the faithful, that he ruins. These doubters then go to him as to a soothsayer, and inquire of him what will happen to them; and he, the false prophet, not having the power of a divine spirit in him, answers them according to their inquiries, and according to their wicked desires, and fills their souls with expectations, according to their own wishes. For being himself empty, he gives empty answers to empty inquirers; for every answer is made to the emptiness of man. Some true words he does occasionally utter; for the devil fills him with his own spirit, in the hope that he may be able to overcome some of the righteous. As many, then, as are strong in the faith of the Lord, and are clothed with truth, have no connection with such spirits, but keep away from them; but as many as are of doubtful minds and frequently repent, betake themselves to soothsaying, even as the heathen, and bring greater sin upon themselves by their idolatry. For he who inquires of a false prophet in regard to any action is an idolater, and devoid of the truth, and foolish. For no spirit given by God requires to be asked; but such a spirit having the power of Divinity speaks all things of itself, for it proceeds from above from the power of the Divine Spirit. But the spirit which is asked and speaks according to the desires of men is earthly,[1] light, and powerless, and it is altogether silent if it is not questioned." "How then, sir," say I, "will a man know which of them is the prophet, and which the false prophet?" "I will tell you," says he, "about both the prophets, and then you can test the true and the false prophet according to my directions. Test the man who has the Divine Spirit by his life. First, he who has the Divine Spirit proceeding from above is meek, and peaceable, and humble, and refrains from all iniquity and the vain desire of this world, and contents himself with fewer wants than those of other men, and when asked he makes no reply; nor does he speak privately, nor when man wishes the spirit to speak does the Holy Spirit speak, but it speaks only when God wishes it to speak. When, then, a man having the Divine Spirit comes into an assembly of righteous men who have faith in the Divine Spirit, and this assembly of men offers up prayer to God, then the angel of the prophetic Spirit,[2] who is destined for him, fills the man; and the man being filled with the Holy Spirit, speaks to the multitude as the Lord wishes. Thus, then, will the Spirit of Divinity become manifest. Whatever power therefore comes from the Spirit of Divinity belongs to the Lord. Hear, then," says he, "in regard to the spirit which is earthly, and empty, and powerless, and foolish. First, the man who seems to have the Spirit exalts himself, and wishes to have the first seat, and is bold, and impudent, and talkative, and lives in the midst of many luxuries and many other delusions, and takes rewards for his prophecy; and if he does not receive rewards, he does not prophesy. Can, then, the Divine Spirit take rewards and prophesy? It is not possible that the prophet of God should do this, but prophets of this character are possessed by an earthly spirit. Then it never approaches an assembly of righteous men, but shuns them. And it associates with doubters and the vain, and prophesies to them in a corner, and deceives them, speaking to them, according to their desires, mere empty words: for they are empty to whom it gives its answers. For the empty vessel, when placed along with the empty, is not crushed, but they correspond to each other. When, therefore, it comes into an assembly of righteous men who have a spirit of divinity, and they offer up prayer, that man is made empty, and the earthly spirit flees from him through fear, and that man is made dumb, and is entirely crushed, being unable to speak. For if you pack closely a storehouse with wine or oil, and put an empty jar in the midst of the vessels of wine or oil, you will find that jar empty as when you placed it, if you should wish to clear the storehouse. So also the empty prophets, when they come to the spirits of the righteous, are found [on leaving] to be such as they were when they came. This, then, is the mode of life of both prophets. Try by his deeds and his life the man who says that he is inspired. But as for you, trust the Spirit which comes from God, and has power; but the spirit which is earthly and empty trust not at all, for there is no power in it: it comes from the devil. Hear, then, the parable which I am to tell you. Take a stone, and throw it to the sky, and see if you can touch it. Or again, take a squirt of water and squirt into the sky, and see if you can penetrate the sky." "How, sir," say I, "can these things take place? for both of them are impossible." "As these things," says he, "are impossible, so also are the earthly spirits powerless and pithless. But look, on the other hand, at the power which comes from above. Hail is of the size of a very small grain, yet when it falls on a man's head how much annoyance it gives him! Or, again, take the drop which falls from a pitcher to the ground, and yet it hollows a stone. You see, then, that the smallest things coming from above have great power when they fall upon the earth.[1] Thus also is the Divine Spirit, which comes from above, powerful. Trust, then, that Spirit, but have nothing to do with the other."

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[1] ἐξομολογούμενος one would expect here to mean "giving thanks," a meaning which it has in the New Testament; but as ἐξομολογοῦμαι means to "confess" throughout the *Pastor of Hermas*, it is likely that it means "confessing" here also.

[2] *Is . . . God.* He who sits in the chair is a terrestrial spirit.—*Vat.* And then follows the dislocation of sentences noticed above.

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[1] *The spirit of all men is earthly*, etc. This passage, down to "it is not possible that the prophet of God should do this," is found in the Vat. and other MSS. of the common translation, with the exception of the Lambeth, in Commandment Twelfth.

[2] *Angel of the prophetic Spirit.* The holy messenger (angel) of Divinity. —*Vat.*

COMMANDMENT TWELFTH.

On the twofold desire. The commandments of God can be kept, and believers ought not to fear the devil.

CHAP. I.

He says to me, "Put away from you all wicked desire, and clothe yourself with good and chaste desire; for clothed with this desire you will hate wicked desire, and will rein yourself in even as you wish. For wicked desire is wild, and is with difficulty tamed. For it is terrible, and consumes men exceedingly by its wildness. Especially is the servant of God terribly consumed by it, if he falls into it and is devoid of understanding. Moreover, it consumes all such as have not on them the garment of good desire, but are entangled and mixed up with this world. These it delivers up to death." "What then, sir," say I, "are the deeds of wicked desire which deliver men over to death? Make them known to me, and I will refrain from them." "Listen, then, to the works in which evil desire slays the servants of God.

CHAP. II.

"Foremost of all is the desire after another's wife or husband, and after extravagance, and many useless dainties and drinks, and many other foolish luxuries; for all luxury is foolish and empty in the servants of God. These, then, are the evil desires which slay the servants of God. For this evil desire is the daughter of the devil. You must refrain from evil desires, that by refraining ye may live to God.[1] But as many as are mastered by them, and do not resist them, will perish at last, for these desires are fatal. Put you on, then, the desire of righteousness; and arming yourself with the fear of the Lord, resist them. For the fear of the Lord dwells in good desire. But if evil desire see you armed with the fear of God,[2] and resisting it, it will flee far from you, and it will no longer appear to you, for it fears your armour. Go, then, garlanded with the crown which you have gained for victory over it, to the desire of righteousness, and, delivering up to it the prize which you have received, serve it even as it wishes.[3] If you serve good desire, and be subject to it, you will gain the mastery over evil desire, and make it subject to you even as you wish."[4]

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[1] *Earth.* After this the Vatican reads: Join yourself, therefore, to that which has power, and withdraw from that one which is empty.

CHAP. III.

"I should like to know," say I, "in what way I ought to serve good desire." "Hear," says he: "You will practise righteousness and virtue, truth and the fear of the Lord, faith and meekness, and whatsoever excellences are like to these. Practising these, you will be a well-pleasing servant of God,[2] and you will live to Him; and every one who shall serve good desire, shall live to God."

He concluded the twelve commandments, and said to me,

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[1] *For . . . God.* This desire, therefore, is wicked and destructive, bringing death on the servants of God. Whoever, therefore, shall abstain from evil desire, shall live to God.—*Vat.*

[2] *God.* The Lord.—*Vat.*

[3] *Go . . . wishes.* And you will obtain the victory, and will be crowned on account of it, and you will arrive at good desire, and you will deliver up the victory which you have obtained to God, and you will serve Him by acting even as you yourself wish to act.—*Vat.*

[4] Chapters third, fourth, and part of fifth, are omitted in the Palatine.

"You have now these commandments. Walk in them, and exhort your hearers that their repentance may be pure during the remainder of their life. Fulfil carefully this ministry which I now entrust to you, and you will accomplish much. For you will find favour among those who are to repent, and they will give heed to your words; for I will be with you, and will compel them to obey you." I say to him, "Sir, these commandments are great, and good, and glorious, and fitted to gladden the heart of the man who can perform them. But I do not know if these commandments can be kept by man, because they are exceeding hard." He answered and said to me, "If you lay it down as certain that they can be kept,[1] then you will easily keep them, and they will not be hard. But if you come to imagine that they cannot be kept by man, then you will not keep them. Now I say to you, If you do not keep them, but neglect them, you will not be saved, nor your children, nor your house, since you have already determined for yourself that these commandments cannot be kept by man."

CHAP. IV.

These things he said to me in tones of the deepest anger, so that I was confounded and exceedingly afraid of him, for his figure was altered so that a man could not endure his anger. But seeing me altogether agitated and confused, he began to speak to me in more gentle tones; and he said: "O fool, senseless and doubting, do you not perceive how great is the glory of God, and how strong and marvellous, in that He created the world for the sake of man, and subjected all creation to him, and gave him power to rule over everything under heaven? If, then, man is lord of the creatures of God, and rules over all, is he not able to be lord also of these commandments? For," says he, "the man who has the Lord in his heart can also be lord of all, and of every one of these commandments. But to those who have the Lord only on their lips,[2] but their hearts hardened,[1] and who are far from the Lord, the commandments are hard and difficult. Put, therefore, ye who are empty and fickle in your faith, the Lord in your heart, and ye will know that there is nothing easier, or sweeter, or more manageable, than these commandments. Return, ye who walk in the commandments of the devil, in hard, and bitter, and wild licentiousness, and fear not the devil; for there is no power in him against you, for I will be with you, the angel of repentance, who am lord over him. The devil has fear only, but his fear has no strength. Fear him not, then, and he will flee from you."

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[1] *If . . . kept*, omitted in Vat.

[2] Isa. xxix. 13; Matt. xv. 8.

CHAP. V.

I say to him, "Sir, listen to me for a moment." "Say what you wish," says he. "Man, sir," say I, "is eager to keep the commandments of God, and there is no one who does not ask of the Lord that strength may be given him for these commandments, and that he may be subject to them; but the devil is hard, and holds sway over them." "He cannot," says he, "hold sway over the servants of God, who with all their heart place their hopes in Him. The devil can wrestle against these, overthrow them he cannot. If, then, ye resist him, he will be conquered, and flee in disgrace from you. As many, therefore," says he, "as are empty, fear the devil, as possessing power. When a man has filled very suitable jars with good wine, and a few among those jars are left empty,[2] then he comes to the jars, and does not look at the full jars, for he knows that they are full; but he looks at the empty, being afraid lest they have become sour. For empty jars quickly become sour, and the goodness of the wine is gone. So also the devil goes to all the servants of God to try them. As many, then, as are full in the faith, resist him strongly, and he withdraws from them, having no way by which he might enter them. He goes, then, to the empty, and finding a way of entrance into them, he produces in them whatever he wishes, and they become his servants.

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[1] John xii. 40; 2 Cor. iii. 14.

[2] *Empty.* Half full.—*Vat.*

CHAP. VI.

"But I, the angel of repentance, say to you, Fear not the devil; for I was sent," says he, "to be with you who repent with all your heart, and to make you strong in faith. Trust God,[1] then, ye who on account of your sins have despaired of life, and who add to your sins and weigh down your life; for if ye return to the Lord with all your heart, and practise righteousness the rest of your days,[2] and serve Him according to His will, He will heal your former sins, and you will have power to hold sway over the works of the devil. But as to the threats of the devil, fear them not at all, for he is powerless as the sinews of a dead man. Give ear to me, then, and fear Him who has all power, both to save and destroy,[3] and keep His commandments, and ye will live to God." I say to him, "Sir, I am now made strong in all the ordinances of the Lord, because you are with me; and I know that you will crush all the power of the devil, and we shall have rule over him, and shall prevail against all his works. And I hope, sir, to be able to keep all these commandments[4] which you have enjoined upon me, the Lord strengthening me." "You will keep them," says he, "if your heart be pure towards the Lord; and all will keep them who cleanse their hearts from the vain desires of this world, and they will live to God."

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[1] *Trust God.* Believe ye, then, who on account of your sins have forgotten God.—*Vat.*

[2] *Practise . . . days*, omitted in Vat.

[3] Matt. x. 28; Luke xii. 5.

[4] *Rule over . . . commandments.* But we shall conquer him completely, if we can keep these commandments.—*Vat.*

BOOK THIRD.—SIMILITUDES.

SIMILITUDES WHICH HE SPAKE WITH ME.

SIMILITUDE FIRST.

As in this world we have no abiding city, we ought to seek one to come.

HE says to me, "You know that you who are the servants of God dwell in a strange land; for your city is far away from this one. If, then," he continues, "you know your city in which you are to dwell, why do ye here provide lands, and make expensive preparations, and accumulate dwellings and useless buildings? He who makes such preparations for this city cannot return again to his own. Oh foolish, and unstable, and miserable man! Dost thou not understand that all these things belong to another, and are under the power of another? for the lord of this city will say, 'I do not wish thee to dwell in my city; but depart from this city, because thou obeyest not my laws.' Thou, therefore, although having fields and houses, and many other things, when cast out by him, what wilt thou do with thy land, and house, and other possessions which thou hast gathered to thyself? For the lord of this country justly says to thee, 'Either obey my laws or depart from my dominion.' What, then, dost thou intend to do, having a law in thine own city, on account of thy lands, and the rest of thy possessions?[1] Thou shalt altogether deny thy law, and walk according to the law of this city. See lest it be to thy hurt to deny thy law;[1] for if thou shalt desire to return to thy city, thou wilt not be received, because thou hast denied the law of thy city, but wilt be excluded from it. Have a care, therefore: as one living in a foreign land, make no further preparations for thyself than such merely as may be sufficient; and be ready, when the master of this city shall come to cast thee out for disobeying his law, to leave his city, and to depart to thine own, and to obey thine own law without being exposed to annoyance, but in great joy. Have a care, then, ye who serve the Lord, and have Him in your heart, that ye work the works of God, remembering His commandments and promises which He promised, and believe that He will bring them to pass if His commandments be observed. Instead of lands, therefore, buy afflicted souls, according as each one is able, and visit[2] widows and orphans, and do not overlook them; and spend your wealth and all your preparations, which ye received from the Lord, upon such lands and houses. For to this end did the Master make you rich, that you might perform these services unto Him; and it is much better to purchase such lands, and possessions, and houses, as you will find in your own city, when you come to reside in it. This is a noble and sacred expenditure, attended neither with sorrow nor fear, but with joy. Do not practise the expenditure of the heathen,[3] for it is injurious to you who are the servants of God; but practise an expenditure of your own, in which ye can rejoice; and do not corrupt[4] nor touch what

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[1] This sentence may be also rendered thus, giving ἕνεκεν the meaning of "as regards," "respecting"—a usual enough signification: "What then do you intend to do, as you have a law in your own city regarding your lands and the rest of your possessions?" The Vatican punctuates the passage so that it runs as follows: "What then will you

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do, who have a law in your own city? Will you, on account of your land, or any other of your preparations, be able to deny your law?" The Vatican also omits several clauses that are in the Greek, down to "for if thou shalt deny, and shalt desire to return," etc.

[1] *See . . . law*, omitted in Lips.

[2] The Vatican has: "Acquit widows, and do justice to orphans."

[3] The Vatican renders, "Do not covet, therefore, the riches of the heathen."

[4] The Vatican, rendering *παραχαράσσετε*, *adulterare*, proceeds as if the reference were to adultery. "Neither touch another man's wife, nor lust after her, but desire your own work, and you will be saved."

is another's, nor covet it, for it is an evil thing to covet the goods of other men; but work thine own work, and thou wilt be saved."

SIMILITUDE SECOND.

As the vine is supported by the elm, so is the rich man helped by the prayer of the poor.

As I was walking in the field, and observing an elm and vine, and determining in my own mind respecting them and their fruits, the Shepherd appears to me, and says, "What is it that you are thinking about the elm and vine?" "I am considering," I reply, "that they become each other exceedingly well." "These two trees," he continues, "are intended as an example for the servants of God." "I would like to know," said I, "the example which these trees, you say, are intended to teach." "Do you see," he says, "the elm and the vine?" "I see them, sir," I replied. "This vine," he continued, "produces fruit, and the elm is an unfruitful tree; but unless the vine be trained upon the elm, it cannot bear much fruit when extended at length upon the ground;[1] and the fruit which it does bear is rotten, because the plant is not suspended upon the elm. When, therefore, the vine is cast upon the elm, it yields fruit both from itself and from the elm. You see, moreover, that the elm also produces much fruit, not less than the vine, but even more; because,"[2] he continued, "the vine, when suspended upon the elm, yields much fruit, and good; but when thrown upon the ground, what it produces is small and rotten. This similitude, therefore, is for the servants of God—for the poor man and for the rich." "How so, sir?" said I; "explain the matter to me." "Listen," he said: "The rich man has much wealth, but is poor in matters relating to the Lord, because he is distracted about his riches; and he offers very few confessions and intercessions to the Lord, and those which he does offer are small and weak, and have no power above. But when the rich man refreshes[1] the poor, and assists him in his necessities, believing that what he does to the poor man will be able to find its reward with God—because the poor man is rich in intercession and confession, and his intercession has great power with God—then the rich man helps the poor in all things without hesitation; and the poor man, being helped by the rich, intercedes for him, giving thanks to God for him who bestows gifts upon him. And he still continues to interest himself zealously for the poor man, that his wants may be constantly supplied. For he knows that the intercession of the poor man is acceptable and influential with God. Both, accordingly, accomplish their work. The poor man makes intercession; a work in which he is rich, which he received from the Lord, and with which he recompenses the master who helps him. And the rich man, in like manner, unhesitatingly bestows upon the poor man the riches which he received from the Lord. And this is a great work, and acceptable before God, because he understands the object of his wealth, and has given to the poor of the gifts of the Lord, and rightly discharged his service to Him. Among men, however, the elm appears not to produce fruit, and they do not know nor understand that if a drought come, the elm, which contains water, nourishes the vine; and the vine, having an unfailing supply of water, yields double fruit both for itself and for the elm. So also poor men interceding with the Lord on behalf of the rich, increase their riches; and the rich, again, aiding the poor in their necessities, satisfy their souls. Both, therefore, are partners in the righteous work. He who does these things shall not be deserted by God, but shall be enrolled in the books of the living. Blessed are they who have riches, and who understand that they are from the Lord. [For they who are of that mind will be able to do some good.[1]]"

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[1] The Vatican reads: "Unless this vine be attached to the elm, and rest upon it, it cannot bear much fruit. For, lying upon the ground, it produces bad fruit, because it is not suspended upon the elm."

[2] The Vatican here makes Hermas interrupt the Shepherd, and ask, "How greater than the vine?"

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[1] The translation of the text is based on the Palatine. Lips. reads: "When the rich man fills out upon the poor." Hilgenfeld amends this: "When the rich man recovers breath upon the poor." Neither gives sense. The Æthiopic has: "But if the rich man lean on the poor;" and the Greek of Hilgenfeld might mean: "When the rich man recovers his breath by leaning on the poor." The Vatican is quite different: "When, therefore, the rich man helps the poor in those things which he needs, the poor man prays to the Lord for the rich man, and God bestows all blessings upon the rich man, because the poor man is rich in prayer, and his prayer has great merit with God. Then the rich man accordingly assists the poor man's things, because he feels that he is fully heard (*exaudiri*) by the Lord; and the more willingly and unhesitatingly does he give him every help, and takes care that he wants for nothing. The poor man gives thanks to God for the rich man, because they do their duty in respect to the Lord (*a Domino*)."

SIMILITUDE THIRD.

As in winter green trees cannot be distinguished from withered, so in this world neither can the just from the unjust.

He showed me many trees having no leaves, but withered, as it seemed to me; for all were alike. And he said to me, "Do you see those trees?" "I see, sir," I replied, "that all are alike, and withered." He answered me, and said, "These trees which you see are those who dwell in this world." "Why, then, sir," I said, "are they withered, as it were, and alike?"[2] "Because," he said, "neither are the righteous manifest in this life, nor sinners, but they are alike; for this life is a winter to the righteous, and they do not manifest themselves, because they dwell with sinners: for as in winter trees that have cast their leaves are alike, and it is not seen which are dead and which are living, so in this world neither do the righteous show themselves, nor sinners, but all are alike one to another."

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[1] The sentence in brackets is not in Lips. It is taken from Pal.

[2] The Vatican renders this thus: "Why do they resemble those that are, as it were, withered?"

SIMILITUDE FOURTH.

As in summer living trees are distinguished from withered by fruit and living leaves, so in the world to come the just differ from the unjust in happiness.

He showed me again many trees, some budding, and others withered. And he said to me, "Do you see these trees?" "I see, sir," I replied, "some putting forth buds, and others withered." "Those," he said, "which are budding are the righteous who are to live in the world to come; for the coming world is the summer[1] of the righteous, but the winter of sinners. When, therefore, the mercy of the Lord shines forth, then shall they be made manifest who are the servants of God, and all men shall be made manifest. For as in summer the fruits of each individual tree appear, and it is ascertained of what sort they are, so also the fruits of the righteous shall be manifest, and all who have been fruitful in that world shall be made known.[2] But the heathen and sinners, like the withered trees which you saw, will be found to be those who have been withered and unfruitful in that world, and shall be burnt as wood, and [so] made manifest, because their actions were evil during their lives. For the sinners shall be consumed because they sinned and did not repent, and the heathen shall be burned because they knew not Him who created them. Do you therefore bear fruit, that in that summer your fruit may be known. And refrain from much business, and you will never sin: for they who are occupied with much business commit also many sins, being distracted about their affairs, and not at all serving their Lord. How, then," he continued, "can such a one ask and obtain anything from the Lord, if he serve Him not? They who serve Him shall obtain their requests, but they who serve Him not shall receive nothing. And in the performance even of a single action a man can serve the Lord; for his mind will not be perverted from the Lord, but he will serve Him, having a pure mind. If, therefore, you do these things, you shall be able to bear fruit for the life to come. And every one who will do these things shall bear fruit."

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[1] *Summer.* Throne.—*Lips.*

[2] The Vatican has, "And all the merry and joyful shall be restored in that age."

SIMILITUDE FIFTH.

Of true fasting and its reward: also of purity of body.

CHAP. I.

While fasting and sitting on a certain mountain, and giving thanks to the Lord for all His dealings with me, I see the Shepherd sitting down beside me, and saying, "Why have you come hither [so] early in the morning?" "Because, sir," I answered, "I have a station." "What is a station?" he asked. "I am fasting, sir," I replied. "What is this fasting," he continued, "which you are observing?" "As I have been accustomed, sir," I reply, "so I fast." "You do not know," he says, "how to fast unto the Lord: this useless fasting which you observe to Him is of no value." "Why, sir," I answered, "do you say this?" "I say to you," he continued, "that the fasting which you think you observe is not a fasting. But I will teach you what is a full and acceptable fasting to the Lord. Listen," he continued: "God does not desire such an empty fasting. For fasting to God in this way you will do nothing for a righteous life; but offer to God a fasting of the following kind: Do no evil in your life, and serve the Lord with a pure heart: keep His commandments, walking in His precepts, and let no evil desire arise in your heart; and believe in God. If you do these things, and fear Him, and abstain from every evil thing, you will live unto God; and if you do these things, you will keep a great fast, and one acceptable before God.

CHAP. II.

"Hear the similitude which I am about to narrate to you relative to fasting. A certain man had a field and many slaves, and he planted a certain part of the field with a vineyard,[1] and selecting a faithful and beloved and much valued slave, he called him to him, and said, 'Take this vineyard which I have planted, and stake[2] it until I come, and do nothing else to the vineyard; and attend to this order of mine, and you shall receive your freedom from me.' And the master of the slave departed to a foreign country. And when he was gone, the slave took and staked the vineyard; and when he had finished the staking of the vines, he saw that the vineyard was full of weeds. He then reflected, saying, 'I have kept this order of my master: I will dig up the rest of this vineyard, and it will be more beautiful when dug up; and being free of weeds, it will yield more fruit, not being choked by them.' He took, therefore, and dug up the vineyard, and rooted out all the weeds that were in it. And that vineyard became very beautiful and fruitful, having no weeds to choke it. And after a certain time the master of the slave and of the field returned, and entered into the vineyard. And seeing that the vines were suitably supported on stakes, and the ground, moreover, dug up, and all the weeds rooted out, and the vines fruitful, he was greatly pleased with the work of his slave. And calling his beloved son who was his heir, and his friends who were his councillors, he told them what orders he had given his slave, and what he had found performed. And they rejoiced along with the slave at the testimony which his master bore to him. And he said to them, 'I promised this slave freedom if he obeyed the command which I gave him, and he has kept my command, and done besides a good work to the vineyard, and has pleased me exceedingly. In return, therefore, for the work which he has done, I wish to make him co-heir with my son, because, having good thoughts, he did not neglect them, but carried them out.' With this resolution of the master his son and friends were well pleased, viz. that the slave should be co-heir with the son. After a few days the master made a feast,[3] and sent to his slave many dishes from his table. And the slave receiving the dishes that were sent him from his master, took of them what was sufficient for himself, and distributed the rest among his fellow-slaves. And his fellow-slaves rejoiced to receive the dishes, and began to pray for him, that he might find still greater favour with his master for having so treated them. His master heard all these things that were done, and was again greatly pleased with his conduct. And the master again calling together his friends and his son, reported to them the slave's proceeding with regard to the dishes which he had sent him. And they were still more satisfied that the slave should become co-heir with his son."

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[1] The Vatican adds, "for his successors."

[2] *i.e.* attach the vines to stakes.

[3] The Vatican adds, "Having called together his friends."

CHAP. III.

I said to him, "Sir, I do not see the meaning of these similitudes, nor am I able to comprehend them, unless you explain them to me." "I will explain them all to you," he said, "and whatever I shall mention in the course of our conversations I will show you. [Keep the commandments of the Lord, and you will be approved, and inscribed amongst the number of those who observe His commands.] And if you do any good beyond what is commanded by God, you will gain for yourself more abundant glory, and will be more honoured by God than you would otherwise be. If, therefore, in keeping the commandments of God, you do, in addition, these services, you will have joy if you observe them according to my command." I said to him, "Sir, whatsoever you enjoin upon me I will observe, for I know that you are with me." "I will be with you," he replied, "because you have such a desire for doing good; and I will be with all those," he added, "who have such a desire. This fasting," he continued, "is very good, provided the commandments of the Lord be observed. Thus, then, shall you observe the fasting which you intend to keep. First of all,[1] be on your guard against every evil word, and every evil desire, and purify your heart from all the vanities of this world. If you guard against these things, your fasting will be perfect. And you will do also as follows. Having fulfilled what is written, in the day on which you fast you will taste nothing but bread and water; and having reckoned up the price of the dishes of that day which you intended to have eaten, you will give it to a widow, or an orphan, or to some person in want, and thus you will exhibit humility of mind, so that he who has received benefit from your humility may fill his own soul, and pray for you to the Lord. If you observe fasting, as I have commanded you, your sacrifice will be acceptable to God, and this fasting will be written down; and the service thus performed is noble, and sacred, and acceptable to the Lord. These things, therefore, shall you thus observe with your children, and all your house, and in observing them you will be blessed; and as many as hear these words and observe them shall be blessed; and whatsoever they ask of the Lord they shall receive."

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[1] Pseudo-Athanasius gives this paragraph as follows: "First of all be on your guard to fast from every evil word and evil report, and purify your heart from every defilement and revenge, and base covetousness. And on the day on which you fast, be content with bread, and herbs, and water, giving thanks to God. And having calculated the

CHAP. IV.

I prayed him much that he would explain to me the similitude of the field, and of the master of the vineyard, and of the slave who staked the vineyard, and of the stakes, and of the weeds that were plucked out of the vineyard, and of the son, and of the friends who were fellow-councillors, for I knew that all these things were a kind of parable. And he answered me, and said, "You are exceedingly persistent[1] with your questions. You ought not," he continued, "to ask any questions at all; for if it is needful to explain anything, it will be made known to you." I said to him, "Sir, whatsoever you show me, and do not explain, I shall have seen to no purpose,

amount of the cost of the meal which you intended to have eaten on that day, give it to a widow, or an orphan, or to some one in want, so that, having clearly filled his own soul, he shall pray to the Lord on your behalf. If you therefore perform your fasting as I enjoined you, your sacrifice will be acceptable before the Lord, and inscribed in the heavens in the day of the requital of the good things that have been prepared for the righteous."

[1] Literally, "self-willed" (αὐθάδης).

not understanding its meaning. In like manner, also, if you speak parables to me, and do not unfold them, I shall have heard your words in vain." And he answered me again, saying, "Every one who is the servant of God, and has his Lord in his heart, asks of Him understanding, and receives it, and opens up every parable; and the words of the Lord become known to him which are spoken in parables. But those who are weak and slothful in prayer, hesitate to ask anything from the Lord; but the Lord is full of compassion, and gives without fail to all who ask Him. But you, having been strengthened by the holy Angel, and having obtained from Him such intercession, and not being slothful, why do not you ask of the Lord understanding, and receive it from Him?" I said to him, "Sir, having you with me, I am necessitated to ask questions of you, for you show me all things, and converse with me; but if I were to see or hear these things without you, I would then ask the Lord to explain them."

CHAP. V.

"I said to you a little ago," he answered, "that you were cunning and obstinate in asking explanations of the parables; but since you are so persistent, I shall unfold to you the meaning of the similitudes of the field, and of all the others that follow, that you may make them known to every one. Hear now," he said, "and understand them. The field is this world; and the Lord of the field is He who created, and perfected, and strengthened all things; [and the son is the Holy Spirit;[1]] and the slave is the Son of God; and the vines are this people, whom He Himself planted; and the stakes are the holy angels of the Lord, who keep His people together; and the weeds that were plucked out of the vineyard are the iniquities of God's servants; and the dishes which He sent Him from His table are the commandments which He gave His people through His Son; and the friends and fellow-councillors are the holy angels who were first created; and the Master's absence from home is the time that remains until His appearing." I said to him, "Sir, all these are great, and marvellous, and glorious things. Could I, therefore," I continued, "understand them? No, nor could any other man, even if exceedingly wise. Moreover," I added, "explain to me what I am about to ask you." "Say what you wish," he replied. "Why, sir," I asked, "is the Son of God in the parable in the form of a slave?"

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[1] This clause occurs only in the Vatican. It does not occur in Lips., Pal., or in the Æth.

CHAP. VI.

"Hear," he answered: "the Son of God is not in the form of a slave, but in great power and might." "How so, sir?" I said; "I do not understand." "Because," he answered, "God planted the vineyard, that is to say, He created the people, and gave them to His Son; and the Son appointed His angels over them to keep them; and He Himself purged away their sins, having suffered many trials and undergone many labours, for no one is able to dig without labour and toil. He Himself, then, having purged away the sins of the people, showed them the paths of life by giving them the law which He received from His Father. [You see," he said, "that He is the Lord of the people, having received all authority from His Father.[1]] And why the Lord took His Son as councillor, and the glorious angels, regarding the heirship of the slave, listen. The holy, pre-existent Spirit, that created every creature, God made to dwell in flesh, which He chose.[2] This flesh, accordingly, in which the Holy Spirit dwelt, was nobly subject to that Spirit, walking religiously and chastely, in no respect defiling the Spirit; and accordingly, after living[1] excellently and purely, and after labouring and co-operating with the Spirit, and having in everything acted vigorously and courageously along with the Holy Spirit, He assumed it as a partner with it. For this conduct[2] of the flesh pleased Him, because it was not defiled on the earth while having the Holy Spirit. He took, therefore, as fellow-councillors His Son and the glorious angels, in order that this flesh, which had been subject to the body without a fault, might have some place of tabernacle, and that it might not appear that the reward [of its servitude had been lost[3]]; for the flesh that has been found without spot or defilement, in which the Holy Spirit dwelt, [will receive a reward[3]]. You now have the explanation of this parable also."

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[1] The sentence in brackets is omitted in Lips. and Æth., occurs in Vat. and Pal.

[2] This passage varies in each of the forms in which it has come down, and is corrupt in most, if not in all. The Vatican (Lat.) has, "Because the messenger hears the Holy Spirit, which was the first of all that was poured (*infusus*) into a body in which God might dwell. For understanding (*intellectus*) placed it in a body as seemed proper to Him." The Pal. reads: "For that Holy Spirit which was created pure [first] of all in a body in which it might dwell, God made and appointed a chosen body which pleased Him." The Æth. reads: "The Holy Spirit, who created all things, dwelt in a body in which He wished to dwell."

CHAP. VII.

"I rejoice, sir," I said, "to hear this explanation." "Hear," again he replied: "Keep this flesh pure and stainless, that the Spirit which inhabits it may bear witness to it, and your flesh may be justified. See that the thought never arise in your mind that this flesh of yours is corruptible, and you misuse it by any act of defilement. If you defile your flesh, you will also defile the Holy Spirit; and if you defile your flesh [and spirit], you will not live." "And if any one, sir," I said, "has been hitherto ignorant, before he heard these words, how can such a man be saved who has defiled his flesh?" "Respecting former sins of ignorance," he said, "God alone is able to heal them, for to Him belongs all power.

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[1] The Vatican renders this sentence: "This body, therefore, into which the Holy Spirit was led, was subject to that Spirit, walking rightly, modestly, and chastely, and did not at all defile that Spirit. Since, then, that body had always obeyed the Holy Spirit, and had laboured rightly and chastely with it, and had not at any time given way, that wearied body passed its time as a slave; but having strongly approved itself along with the Holy Spirit, it was received unto God." The Palatine is similar. The Æth. reads: "That body served well in righteousness and purity, nor did it ever defile that Spirit, and it became His partner, since that body pleased God."

[2] πορεία. Vatican, *potens cursus*.

[3] The passages within brackets are omitted by Lips. and Æth.

[But be on your guard now, and the all-powerful and compassionate God will heal former transgressions[1]], if for the time to come you defile not your body nor your spirit; for both are common, and cannot be defiled, the one without the other: keep both therefore pure, and you will live unto God."

SIMILITUDE SIXTH.

Of the two classes of voluptuous men, and of their death, falling away, and the duration of their punishment.

Chap. I.

Sitting in my house, and glorifying the Lord for all that I had seen, and reflecting on the commandments, that they are excellent, and powerful, and glorious, and able to save a man's soul, I said within myself, "I shall be blessed if I walk in these commandments, and every one who walks in them will be blessed." While I was saying these words to myself, I suddenly see him sitting beside me, and hear him thus speak: "Why are you in doubt about the commandments which I gave you? They are excellent: have no doubt about them at all, but put on faith in the Lord, and you will walk in them, for I will strengthen you in them. These commandments are beneficial to those who intend to repent: for if they do not walk in them, their repentance is in vain. You, therefore, who repent cast away the wickedness of this world which wears you out; and by putting on all the virtues of a holy life, you will be able to keep these commandments, and will no longer add to the number of your sins. Walk,[2] therefore, in these commandments of mine, and you will live unto God. All these things have been spoken to you by me." And after he had uttered these words, he said to me, "Let us go into the fields, and I will show you the shepherds of the flocks." "Let us go, sir," I replied. And we came to a certain plain, and he showed me a young man, a shepherd, clothed in a suit of garments of a yellow colour: and he was herding very many sheep, and these sheep were feeding luxuriously, as it were, and riotously, and merrily skipping hither and thither. And the shepherd himself was merry, because of his flock; and the appearance of the shepherd was joyous, and he was running about amongst his flock. [And other sheep I saw rioting and luxuriating in one place, but not, however, leaping about.[1]]

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[1] Omitted in Lips. Æth. has simply, "But be on your guard now."

[2] The Vatican has a sentence before this: "For if you sin not afterwards, you will greatly fall away from your former [transgressions]."

CHAP. II.

And he said to me, "Do you see this shepherd?" "I see him, sir," I said. "This," he answered, "is the angel of luxury and deceit: he wears out the souls of the servants of God, and perverts them from the truth, deceiving them with wicked desires, through which they will perish; for they forget the commandments of the living God, and walk in deceits and empty luxuries; and they are ruined by the angel, some being brought to death, others to corruption."[2] I said to him, "Sir, I do not know the meaning of these words, 'to death, and to corruption.'" "Listen," he said. "The sheep which you saw merry and leaping about, are those which have torn themselves away from God for ever, and have delivered themselves over to luxuries and deceits [[3] of this world. Among them there is no return to life through repentance, because they have added to their other sins, and blasphemed the name of the Lord. Such men, therefore, are appointed unto death.[4] And the sheep which you saw not leaping, but feeding in one place, are they who have delivered themselves over to luxury and deceit], but have committed no blasphemy against the Lord. These have been perverted from the truth: among them there is the hope of repentance, by which it is possible to live. Corruption, then, has a hope of a kind of renewal,[1] but death has everlasting ruin." Again I went forward a little way, and he showed me a tall shepherd, somewhat savage in his appearance, clothed in a white goatskin, and having a wallet on his shoulders, and a very hard staff with branches, and a large whip. And he had a very sour look, so that I was afraid of him, so forbidding was his aspect. This shepherd, accordingly, was receiving the sheep from the young shepherd, those, viz., that were rioting and luxuriating, but not leaping; and he cast them into a precipitous place, full of thistles and thorns, so that it was impossible to extricate the sheep from the thorns and thistles; but they were completely entangled amongst them. These, accordingly, thus entangled, pastured amongst the thorns and thistles, and were exceedingly miserable, being beaten by him; and he drove them hither and thither, and gave them no rest; and, altogether, these sheep were in a wretched plight.

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[1] Found only in Pseudo-Athanasius. It occurs in none of the translations.

[2] καταφθοράν, translated in Pal. and Vat. by *defectio*, apostasy, as departure from goodness and truth. The Æthiopic has "ruin."

[3] *Of . . . deceit*, omitted in Lips. Our translation is made from the Vat.

[4] Pseudo-Athanasius has, "of such men the life is death."

Chap. III.

Seeing them, therefore, so beaten and so badly used, I was grieved for them, because they were so tormented, and had no rest at all. And I said to the Shepherd who talked with me, "Sir, who is this shepherd, who is so pitiless and severe, and so completely devoid of compassion for these sheep?" "This," he replied, "is the angel of punishment; and he belongs to the just angels, and is appointed to punish. He accordingly takes those who wander away from God, and who have walked in the desires and deceits of this world, and chastises them as they deserve with terrible and diverse punishments." "I would know, sir," I said, "of what nature are these diverse tortures and punishments?" "Hear," he said, "the various tortures and punishments. The tortures are such as occur during life.[2] For some are punished with losses, others with want, others with sicknesses of various kinds, and others with all kinds of disorder and confusion; others are insulted by unworthy persons, and exposed to suffering in many other ways: for many, becoming unstable in their plans, try many things, and none of them at all succeed, and they say they are not prosperous in their undertakings; and it does not occur to their minds that they have done evil deeds, but they blame the Lord.[1] When, therefore, they have been afflicted with all kinds of affliction, then are they delivered unto me for good training, and they are made strong in the faith of the Lord; and[2] for the rest of the days of their life they are subject to the Lord with pure hearts, and are successful in all their undertakings, obtaining from the Lord everything they ask; and then they glorify the Lord, that they were delivered to me, and no longer suffer any evil."

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[1] Pseudo-Athanasius has, "Corruption, therefore, has a hope of resurrection up to a certain point."

[2] *βιωτικαί.* The Vatican and Pal. render this, "the various punishments and tortures which men suffer daily in their lives." Pseudo-Athanasius has: "For when they revolt from God, thinking to be in

CHAP. IV.

I said to him, "Sir, explain this also to me." "What is it you ask?" he said. "Whether, sir," I continued, "they who indulge in luxury, and who are deceived, are tortured for the same period of time that they have indulged in luxury and deceit?" He said to me, "They are tortured in the same manner."[3] ["They are tormented much less, sir," I replied;[4]]

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rest and in wealth, then they are punished, some meeting with losses," etc.

[1] Pseudo-Athanasius has: "And they cannot bear for the rest of their days to turn and serve the Lord with a pure heart. But if they repent and become sober again, then they understand that they were not prosperous on account of their evil deeds; and so they glorify the Lord, because He is a just Judge, and because they suffered justly, and were punished (ἐπαιδεύθησαν) according to their deeds."

[2] The Vatican inserts the following sentence before this: "And when they begin to repent of their sins, then the works in which they have wickedly exercised themselves arise in their hearts; and then they give honour to God, saying that He is a just Judge, and that they have deservedly suffered everything according to their deeds." So does Pal. The Æthiopic becomes very condensed in this portion.

[3] τρόπον. The Vat. and Pal. have, "for the same time" (*per idem tempus*).

[4] Omitted in Lips.

"for those who are so luxurious and who forget God ought to be tortured seven-fold." He said to me, "You are foolish, and do not understand the power of torment." "Why, sir," I said, "if I had understood it, I would not have asked you to show me." "Hear," he said, "the power of both. The time of luxury and deceit is one hour; but the hour of torment is equivalent to thirty days. If, accordingly, a man indulge in luxury for one day, and be deceived and be tortured for one day, the day of his torture is equivalent to a whole year. For all the days of luxury, therefore, there are as many years of torture to be undergone. You see, then," he continued, "that the time of luxury and deceit is very short,[1] but that of punishment and torture long."

Chap. v.

"Still," I said, "I do not quite understand about the time of deceit, and luxury, and torture; explain it to me more clearly." He answered, and said to me, "Your folly is persistent; and you do not wish to purify your heart, and serve God. Have a care," he added, "lest the time be fulfilled, and you be found foolish. Hear now," he added, "as you desire, that you may understand these things. He who indulges in luxury, and is deceived for one day, and who does what he wishes, is clothed with much foolishness, and does not understand the act which he does until the morrow; for he forgets what he did the day before. For luxury and deceit have no memories, on account of the folly with which they are clothed; but when punishment and torture cleave to a man for one day, he is punished and tortured for a year; for punishment and torture have powerful memories. While tortured and punished, therefore, for a whole year, he remembers at last[2] his luxury and deceit, and knows that on their account he suffers evil. Every man, therefore, who is luxurious and deceived is thus tormented, because, although having life, they have given themselves over to death." "What kinds of luxury, sir," I asked, "are hurtful?"

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[1] Pseudo-Athanasius has "nothing" (οὐδέν) instead of ἐλάχιστος.

[2] ποτὲ.

"Every act of a man which he performs with pleasure," he replied, "is an act of luxury; for the sharp-tempered man, when gratifying his tendency, indulges in luxury; and the adulterer, and the drunkard, and the backbiter, and the liar, and the covetous man, and the thief, and he who does things like these, gratifies his peculiar propensity, and in so doing indulges in luxury. All these acts of luxury are hurtful to the servants of God. On account of these deceits, therefore, do they suffer, who are punished and tortured. And there are also acts of luxury which save men; for many who do good indulge in luxury, being carried away by their own pleasure: this luxury, however, is beneficial to the servants of God, and gains life for such a man; but the injurious acts of luxury before enumerated bring tortures and punishment upon them; and if they continue in them and do not repent, they bring death upon themselves."

SIMILITUDE SEVENTH.

They who repent must bring forth fruits worthy of repentance.

After a few days I saw him in the same plain where I had also seen the shepherds; and he said to me, "What do you wish with me?" I said to him, "Sir, that you would order the shepherd who punishes to depart out of my house, because he afflicts me exceedingly." "It is necessary," he replied, "that you be afflicted; for thus," he continued, "did the glorious angel command concerning you, as he wishes you to be tried." "What have I done which is so bad, sir," I replied, "that I should be delivered over to this angel?" "Listen," he said: "Your sins are many, but not so great as to require that *you* be delivered over to this angel; but your household has committed great iniquities and sins, and the glorious angel has been incensed at them on account of their deeds; and for this reason he commanded you to be afflicted for a certain time, that they also might repent, and purify themselves from every desire of this world. When, therefore, they repent and are purified, then the angel of punishment will depart." I said to him, "Sir, if they have done such things as to incense the glorious angel against them, yet what have I done?" He replied, "They cannot be afflicted at all, unless you, the head of the house, be afflicted: for when you are afflicted, of necessity they also suffer affliction; but if you are in comfort, they can feel no affliction." "Well, sir," I said, "they have repented with their whole heart." "I know, too," he answered, "that they have repented with their whole heart: do you think, however, that the sins of those who repent are remitted?[1] Not altogether, but he who repents must torture his own soul, and be exceedingly humble in all his conduct, and be afflicted with many kinds of affliction; and if he endure the afflictions that come upon him, He who created all things, and endued them with power, will assuredly have compassion, and will heal him; and this will He do when He sees the heart of every penitent pure from every evil thing:[2] and it is profitable for you and for your house to suffer affliction now. But why should I say much to you? You must be afflicted, as that angel of the Lord commanded who delivered you to me. And for this give thanks to the Lord, because He has deemed you worthy of showing you beforehand this affliction, that, knowing it before it comes, you may be able to bear it with courage."[3] I said to him, "Sir, be thou with me, and I will be able to bear all affliction." "I will be with you," he said, "and I will ask the angel of punishment to afflict you more lightly; nevertheless, you will be afflicted for a little time, and again you will be re-established in your house. Only continue humble, and serve the Lord in all purity of heart, you and your children, and your house, and walk in my commands which I enjoin upon you, and your repentance will be deep and pure; and if you observe these things with your household, every affliction will depart from you. And affliction," he added, "will depart from all who walk in these my commandments."

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[1] The Vat. and Pal. have *protenus*, "immediately."

[2] The Lips. has lost here a few words, which are supplied from the Latin translations.

[3] The Vatican has: "But rather give thanks to the Lord, that He, knowing what is to come to pass, has deemed you worthy to tell you beforehand that affliction is coming upon those who are able to bear it."

SIMILITUDE EIGHTH.

The sins of the elect and of the penitent are of many kinds, but all will be rewarded according to the measure of their repentance and good works.

CHAP. I.

He showed me a large willow tree overshadowing plains and mountains, and under the shade of this willow had assembled all those who were called by the name of the Lord. And a glorious angel of the Lord, who was very tall, was standing beside the willow, having a large pruning-knife, and he was cutting little twigs from the willow and distributing them among the people that were overshadowed by the willow; and the twigs which he gave them were small, about a cubit, as it were, in length. And after they had all received the twigs, the angel laid down the pruning-knife, and that tree was sound, as I had seen it at first. And I marvelled within myself, saying, "How is the tree sound, after so many branches have been cut off?" And the Shepherd said to me, "Do not be surprised if the tree remains sound after so many branches were lopped off; [but wait,[1]] and when you shall have seen everything, then it will be explained to you what it means." The angel who had distributed the branches among the people again asked them from them, and in the order in which they had received them were they summoned to him, and each one of them returned his branch. And the angel of the Lord took and looked at them. From some he received the branches withered and moth-eaten; those who returned branches in that state the angel of the Lord ordered to stand apart. Others, again, returned them withered, but not moth-eaten; and these he ordered to stand apart. And others returned them half-withered, and these stood apart; and others returned their branches half-withered and having cracks in them, and these stood apart. [And others returned their branches green and having cracks in them; and these stood apart.[2]] And others returned their branches, one-half withered and the other green; and these stood apart. And others brought their branches two-thirds green and the remaining third withered; and these stood apart. And others returned them two-thirds withered and one-third green; and these stood apart. And others returned their branches nearly all green, the smallest part only, the top, being withered, but they had cracks in them; and these stood apart. And of others very little was green, but the remaining parts withered; and these stood apart. And others came bringing their branches green, as they had received them from the angel. And the majority of the crowd returned branches of that kind, and with these the angel was exceedingly pleased; and these stood apart. [And others returned their branches green and having offshoots; and these stood apart, and with these the angel was exceedingly delighted.[1]] And others returned their branches green and with offshoots, and the offshoots had some fruit, as it were;[2] and those men whose branches were found to be of that kind were exceedingly joyful. And the angel was exultant because of them; and the Shepherd also rejoiced greatly because of them.

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[1] Omitted by Lips.

[2] Omitted in Lips. and Vat.

CHAP. II.

And the angel of the Lord ordered crowns to be brought;[3] and there were brought crowns, formed, as it were, of palms; and he crowned the men who had returned the branches which had offshoots and some fruit, and sent them away into the tower. And the others also he sent into the tower, those, namely, who had returned branches that were green and had offshoots but no fruit, having given them seals. And all who went into the tower had the same clothing—white as snow. And those who returned their branches green, as they had received them, he set free, giving them clothing and seals. Now after the angel had finished these things, he said to the Shepherd, "I am going away, and you will send these away within the walls, according as each one is worthy to have his dwelling. And examine their branches carefully, and so dismiss them; but examine them with *care*. See that no one

[1] Omitted in Lips.

[2] Num. xviii. 8.

[3] 4 Esdras ii. 43.

escape you," he added; "and if any escape you, I will try them at the altar." Having said these words to the Shepherd, he departed. And after the angel had departed, the Shepherd said to me, "Let us take the branches of all these and plant them, and see if any of them will live." I said to him, "Sir, how can these withered branches live?" He answered, and said, "This tree is a willow, and of a kind that is very tenacious of life. If, therefore, the branches be planted, and receive a little moisture, many of them will live. And now let us try, and pour water upon them; and if any of them live I shall rejoice with them, and if they do not I at least will not be found neglectful." And the Shepherd bade me call them as each one was placed. And they came, rank by rank, and gave their branches to the Shepherd. And the Shepherd received the branches, and planted them in rows; and after he had planted them he poured much water upon them, so that the branches could not be seen for the water; and after the branches had drunk it in, he said to me, "Let us go, and return after a few days, and inspect all the branches; for He who created this tree wishes all those to live who received branches from it. And I also hope that the greater part of these branches which received moisture and drank of the water will live."

CHAP. III.

I said to him, "Sir, explain to me what this tree means, for I am perplexed about it, because, after so many branches have been cut off, it continues sound, and nothing appears to have been cut away from it. By this, now, I am perplexed." "Listen," he said: "This great tree that casts its shadow over plains, and mountains, and all the earth, is the law of God that was given to the whole world; and this law is the Son of God,[1] proclaimed to the ends of the earth; and the people who are under its shadow are they who have heard the proclamation, and have believed upon Him. And the great and glorious angel Michael is he who has authority over this people, and governs them; for this is he who gave them the law into the hearts of believers: he accordingly superintends them to whom he gave it, to see if they have kept the same. And you see the branches of each one, for the branches are the law. You see, accordingly, many branches that have been rendered useless, and you will know them all—those who have not kept the law; and you will see the dwelling of each one." I said to him, "Sir, why did he dismiss some into the tower, and leave others to you?" "All," he answered, "who transgressed the law which they received from him, he left under my power for repentance; but all who have satisfied the law, and kept it, he retains under his own authority." "Who, then," I continued, "are they who were crowned, and who go to the tower?" "These are they who have suffered on account of the law; but the others, and they who returned their branches green, and with offshoots, but without fruit, are they who have been afflicted on account of the law, but who have not suffered nor denied their law; and they who returned their branches green as they had received them, are the venerable, and the just, and they who have walked carefully in a pure heart, and have kept the commandments of the Lord. And the rest you will know when I have examined those branches which have been planted and watered."

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[1] "And by this law the Son of God was preached to all the ends of the earth."—*Vat.*

CHAP. IV.

And after a few days we came to the place, and the Shepherd sat down in the angel's place, and I stood beside him. And he said to me, "Gird yourself with pure, undressed linen made of sackcloth;" and seeing me girded, and ready to minister to him, "Summon," he said, "the men to whom belong the branches that were planted, according to the order in which each one gave them in." So I went away to the plain, and summoned them all, and they all stood in their ranks. He said to them, "Let each one pull out his own branch, and bring it to me." The first to give in were those who had them withered and cut; and[1] because they were found to be thus withered and cut, he commanded them to stand apart. And next they gave them in who had them withered, but not cut. And some of them gave in their branches green, and some withered and eaten as by a moth. Those that gave them in green, accordingly, he ordered to stand apart; and those who gave them in dry and cut, he ordered to stand along with the first. Next they gave them in who had them half-withered and cracked; and many of them gave them in green and without cracks; and some green and with offshoots, and fruits upon the offshoots, such as they had who went, after being crowned, into the tower. And some handed them in withered and eaten, and some withered and uneaten; and some as they were, half-withered and cracked. And he commanded them each one to stand apart, some towards their own rows, and others apart from them.

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[1] *And . . . cut*, omitted in Pal.

CHAP. V.

Then they gave in their branches who had them green, but cracked: all these gave them in green, and stood in their own row. And the Shepherd was pleased with these, because they were all changed, and had lost their cracks. And they also gave them in who had them half-green and half-withered: of some, accordingly, the branches were found completely green; of others, half-withered; of others, withered and eaten; of others, green, and having offshoots. All these were sent away, each to his own row. [Next they gave in who had them two parts green and one-third withered. Many of them gave them half-withered; and others withered and rotten; and others half-withered and cracked, and a few green. These all stood in their own row.[1]] And they gave them in who had them green, but to a very slight extent withered and cracked.[2] Of these, some gave them in green, and others green and with offshoots. And these also went away to their own row. Next they gave them who had a very small part green and the other parts withered. Of these the branches were found for the most part green and having offshoots, and fruit upon the offshoots, and others altogether

[1] Omitted in Lips. Translation is made from Vat.

[2] The versions vary in some of the minute particulars.

green. With these branches the Shepherd was exceedingly pleased, because they were found in this state. And these went away, each to his own row.

CHAP. VI.

After the Shepherd had examined the branches of them all, he said to me, "I told you that this tree was tenacious of life. You see," he continued, "how many repented and were saved." "I see, sir," I replied. "That you may behold," he added, "the great mercy of the Lord, that it is great and glorious, and that He has given His Spirit to those who are worthy of repentance." "Why, then, sir," I said, "did not all these repent?" He answered, "To them whose heart He saw would become pure, and obedient to Him, He gave power to repent with the whole heart. But to them whose deceit and wickedness He perceived, and saw that they intended to repent hypocritically, He did not grant repentance, lest they should again profane His name." I said to him, "Sir, show me now, with respect to those who gave in the branches, of what sort they are, and their abode, in order that they hearing it who believed, and received the seal, and broke it, and did not keep it whole, may, on coming to a knowledge of their deeds, repent, and receive from you a seal, and may glorify the Lord because He had compassion upon them, and sent you to renew their spirits." "Listen," he said: "they whose branches were found withered and moth-eaten are the apostates and traitors of the church, who have blasphemed the Lord in their sins, and have, moreover, been ashamed of the name of the Lord by which they were called. These, therefore, at the end were lost unto God. And you see that not a single one of them repented, although they heard the words which I spake to them, which I enjoined upon you. From such life departed. And they who gave them in withered and undecayed, these also were near to them; for they were hypocrites, and introducers of strange doctrines, and subverters of the servants of God, especially of those who had sinned, not allowing them to repent, but persuading them by foolish doctrines. These, accordingly, have a hope of repentance. And you see that many of them also have repented since I spake to them, and they will still repent. But all who will not repent have lost their lives; and as many of them as repented became good, and their dwelling was appointed within the first walls; and some of them ascended even into the tower. You see, then," he said, "that repentance involves life to sinners, but non-repentance death.

Chap. VII.

"And as many as gave in the branches half-withered and cracked, hear also about them. They whose branches were half-withered to the same extent are the wavering; for they neither live, nor are they dead. And they who have them half-withered and cracked are both waverers and slanderers, [railing against the absent,] and never at peace with one another, but always at variance. And yet to these also," he continued, "repentance is possible. You see," he said, "that some of them have repented, and there is still remaining in them," he continued, "a hope of repentance. And as many of them," he added, "as have repented, shall have their dwelling in the tower. And those of them who have been slower in repenting shall dwell within the walls. And as many as do not repent at all, but abide in their deeds, shall utterly perish. And they who gave in their branches green and cracked were always faithful and good, though emulous of each other about the foremost places, and about fame: now all these are foolish, in indulging in such a rivalry. Yet they also, being naturally good, on hearing my commandments, purified themselves, and soon repented. Their dwelling, accordingly, was in the tower. But if any one relapse into strife, he will be cast out of the tower, and will lose his life. Life is the possession of all who keep the commandments of the Lord; but in the commandments there is no rivalry in regard to the first places, or glory of any kind, but in regard to patience and personal humility. Among such persons, then, is the life of the Lord, but amongst the quarrelsome and transgressors, death.

CHAP. VIII.

"And they who gave in their branches half green and half withered, are those who are immersed in business, and do not cleave to the saints. For this reason, the one half of them is living, and the other half dead. Many, accordingly, who heard my commands repented, and those at least who repented had their dwelling in the tower. But some of them at last fell away: these, accordingly, have not repentance, for on account of their business they blasphemed the Lord, and denied Him. They therefore lost their lives through the wickedness which they committed. And many of them doubted. These still have repentance in their power, if they repent speedily; and their abode will be in the tower. But if they are slower in repenting, they will dwell within the walls; and if they do not repent, they too have lost their lives. And they who gave in their branches two-thirds withered and one-third green, are those who have denied [the Lord] in various ways. Many, however, repented, but some of them hesitated and were in doubt. These, then, have repentance within their reach, if they repent quickly, and do not remain in their pleasures; but if they abide in their deeds, these, too, work to themselves death.

CHAP. IX.

"And they who returned their branches two-thirds withered and one-third green, are those that were faithful indeed; but after acquiring wealth, and becoming distinguished amongst the heathen, they clothed themselves with great pride, and became lofty-minded, and deserted the truth, and did not cleave to the righteous, but lived with the heathen, and this way of life became more agreeable to them. They did not, however, depart from God, but remained in the faith, although not working the works of faith. Many of them accordingly repented, and their dwelling was in the tower. And others continuing to live until the end with the heathen, and being corrupted by their vain glories, [departed from God, serving the works and deeds of the heathen.[1]] These were reckoned with the heathen. But others of them hesitated, not hoping to be saved on account of the deeds which they had done; while others were in doubt, and caused divisions among themselves. To those, therefore, who were in doubt on account of their deeds, repentance is still open; but their repentance ought to be speedy, that their dwelling may be in the tower. And to those who do not repent, but abide in their pleasures, death is near.

CHAP. X.

"And they who gave in their branches green, but having the tips withered and cracked, these were always good, and faithful, and distinguished before God; but they sinned a very little through indulging small desires, and finding little faults with one another. But on hearing my words the greater part of them quickly repented, and their dwelling was upon the tower. Yet some of them were in doubt; and certain of them who were in doubt wrought greater dissension. Among these, therefore, is hope of repentance, because they were always good; and with difficulty will any one of them perish. And they who gave up their branches withered,[2] but having a very small part green, are those who believed only, yet continue working the works of iniquity. They never, however, departed from God, but gladly bore His name, and joyfully received His servants into their houses. Having accordingly heard of this repentance, they unhesitatingly repented, and practise all virtue and righteousness; and some of them even [suffered, being willingly put to death[3]], knowing their deeds which they had done. Of all these, therefore, the dwelling shall be in the tower."

CHAP. XI.

And after he had finished the explanations of all the branches, he said to me, "Go and tell them to every one, that they may repent, and they shall live unto God. Because the Lord, having had compassion on all men, has sent me to give repentance, although some are not worthy of it on account of their works; but the Lord, being long-suffering, desires those who were called by His Son to be saved."[1] I said to him, "Sir, I hope that all who have heard them will repent; for I am persuaded that each one, on coming to a knowledge of his own works, and fearing the Lord, will repent." He answered me, and said, "All who with their whole heart shall purify themselves from their wickedness before enumerated, and shall add no more to their sins, will receive healing from the Lord for their former transgressions, if they do not hesitate at these commandments; and they will live unto God. But do you walk in my commandments, and live." Having shown me these things, and spoken all these words, he said to me, "And the rest I will show you after a few days."

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[1] Omitted in Lips.; supplied from Vat.

[2] "Withered, all but their tops, which alone were green."—*Vat.* and *Pal.*

[3] Omitted in Lips., which has instead, "are afraid."

SIMILITUDE NINTH.

The great mysteries in the building of the militant and triumphant church.

Chap. I.

After I had written down the commandments and similitudes of the Shepherd, the angel of repentance, he came to me and said, "I wish to explain to you what the Holy Spirit[2] that spake with you in the form of the church showed you, for that Spirit is the Son of God. For, as you were somewhat weak in the flesh, it was not explained to you by the angel. When, however, you were strengthened by the Spirit, and your strength was increased, so that you were able to see the angel also, then accordingly was the building of the tower shown you by the church. In a noble and solemn manner did you see everything as if shown you by a virgin ; but now you see [them] through the same Spirit as if shown by an angel. You must, however, learn everything from me with greater accuracy. For I was sent for this purpose by the glorious angel to dwell in your house, that you might see all things with power, entertaining no fear, even as it was before." And he led me away into Arcadia, to a round hill;[1] and he placed me on the top of the hill, and showed me a large plain, and round about the plain twelve mountains, all having different forms. The first was black as soot; and the second bare, without grass; and the third full of thorns and thistles; and the fourth with grass half-withered, the upper parts of the plants green, and the parts about the roots withered ; and some of the grasses, when the sun scorched them, became withered. And the fifth mountain had green grass, and was rugged. And the sixth mountain was quite full of clefts, some small and others large; and the clefts were grassy, but the plants were not very vigorous, but rather, as it were, decayed. The seventh mountain, again, had cheerful pastures, and the whole mountain was blooming, and every kind of cattle and birds were feeding upon that mountain ; and the more the cattle and the birds ate, the more the grass of that mountain flourished. And the eighth mountain was full of fountains, and every kind of the Lord's creatures drank of the fountains of that mountain. But the ninth mountain [had no water at all, and was wholly a desert, and had within it deadly serpents, which destroy men. And the tenth mountain[2]] had very large trees, and was completely shaded, and under the shadow of the trees sheep lay resting and ruminating. And the eleventh mountain was very thickly wooded, and those trees were productive, being adorned with various sorts of fruits, so that any one seeing them would desire to eat of their fruits. The twelfth mountain, again, was wholly white, and its aspect was cheerful, and the mountain in itself was very beautiful.

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[1] Literally, "the calling that was made by His Son to be saved.' The Vatican renders this, "He wishes to preserve the invitation made by His Son." The Pal. has, "wishes to save His church, which belongs to His Son." In the text, κλῆσις is taken as = κλητοί.

[2] The Spirit.—*Vat.*

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[1] To a fruitful hill.—*Pal.* Omitted in Vat.

[2] Omitted in Lips.

CHAP. II.

And in the middle of the plain he showed me a large white rock that had arisen out of the plain. And the rock was more lofty than the mountains, rectangular in shape, so as to be capable of containing the whole world: and that rock was old, having a gate cut out of it; and the cutting out of the gate seemed to me as if recently done. And the gate glittered to such a degree under the sunbeams, that I marvelled at the splendour of the gate; and round about the gate were standing twelve virgins. The four who stood at the corners seemed to me more distinguished than the others—they were all, however, distinguished—and they were standing at the four parts of the gate; two virgins between each part. And they were clothed with linen tunics, and gracefully girded, having their right shoulders exposed, as if about to bear some burden. Thus they stood ready; for they were exceedingly cheerful and eager. After I had seen these things, I marvelled in myself, because I was beholding great and glorious sights. And again I was perplexed about the virgins, because, although so delicate, they were standing courageously, as if about to carry the whole heavens. And the Shepherd said to me, "Why are you reasoning in yourself, and perplexing your mind, and distressing yourself? for the things which you cannot understand, do not attempt to comprehend, as if you were wise; but ask the Lord, that you may receive understanding and know them. You cannot see what is behind you, but you see what is before. Whatever, then, you cannot see, let alone, and do not torment yourself about it: but what you see, make yourself master of it, and do not waste your labour about other things; and I will explain to you everything that I show you. Look, therefore, on the things that remain."

CHAP. III.

I saw six men come, tall, and distinguished, and similar in appearance, and they summoned a multitude of men. And they who came were also tall men, and handsome, and powerful; and the six men commanded them to build a tower above the rock. And great was the noise of those men who came to build the tower, as they ran hither and thither around the gate. And the virgins who stood around the gate told the men to hasten to build the tower. Now the virgins had spread out their hands, as if about to receive something from the men. And the six men commanded stones to ascend out of a certain pit, and to go to the building of the tower. And there went up ten shining rectangular stones, not hewn in a quarry. And the six men called the virgins, and bade them carry all the stones that were intended for the building, and to pass through the gate, and give them to the men who were about to build the tower. And the virgins put upon one another the ten first stones which had ascended from the pit, and carried them together, each stone by itself.

CHAP. IV.

And as they stood together around the gate, those who seemed to be strong carried them, and they stooped down under the corners of the stone; and the others stooped down under the sides of the stones. And in this way they carried all the stones.[1] And they carried them through the gate as they were commanded, and gave them to the men for the tower; and they took the stones and proceeded with the building. Now the tower was built upon the great rock, and above the gate. Those ten stones were prepared as the foundation for the building of the tower. And the rock and gate were the support of the whole of the tower. And after the ten stones other twenty [five] came up out of the pit, and these were fitted into the building of the tower, being carried by the virgins as before. And after these ascended thirty-five. And these in like manner were fitted into the tower. And after these other forty stones came up; and all these were cast into the building of the tower, [and there were four rows in the foundation of the tower,[2]] and they ceased ascending from the pit. And the builders also ceased for a little.

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[1] All carried the gate.—*Pal.*

[2] Omitted in Lips.

And again the six men commanded the multitude of the crowd to bear stones from the mountains for the building of the tower. They were accordingly brought from all the mountains of various colours, and being hewn by the men were given to the virgins; and the virgins carried them through the gate, and gave them for the building of the tower. And when the stones of various colours were placed in the building, they all became white alike, and lost their different colours. And certain stones were given by the men for the building, and these did not become shining; but as they were placed, such also were they found to remain: for they were not given by the virgins, nor carried through the gate. These stones, therefore, were not in keeping with the others in the building of the tower. And the six men, seeing these unsuitable stones in the building, commanded them to be taken away, and to be carried away down to their own place whence they had been taken; [and being removed one by one, they were laid aside; and] they say to the men who brought the stones, "Do not ye bring any stones at all for the building, but lay them down beside the tower, that the virgins may carry them through the gate, and may give them for the building. For unless," they said, "they be carried through the gate by the hands of the virgins, they cannot change their colours: do not toil, therefore," they said, "to no purpose."

CHAP. V.

And on that day the building was finished, but the tower was not completed; for additional building was again about to be added, and there was a cessation in the building. And the six men commanded the builders all to withdraw a little distance, and to rest, but enjoined the virgins not to withdraw from the tower; and it seemed to me that the virgins had been left to guard the tower. Now after all had withdrawn, and were resting themselves, I said to the Shepherd, "What is the reason that the building of the tower was not finished?" "The tower," he answered, "cannot be finished just yet, until the Lord of it come and examine the building, in order that, if any of the stones be found to be decayed, he may change them: for the tower is built according to his pleasure." "I would like to know, sir," I said, "what is the meaning of the building of this tower, and what the rock and gate, and the mountains, and the virgins mean, and the stones that ascended from the pit, and were not hewn, but came as they were to the building. Why, in the first place, were ten stones placed in the foundation, then twenty-five, then thirty-five, then forty? and I wish also to know about the stones that went to the building, and were again taken out and returned to their own place? On all these points put my mind at rest, sir, and explain them to me." "If you are not found to be curious about trifles," he replied, "you shall know everything. For after a few days [[1]we shall come hither, and you will see the other things that happen to this tower, and will know accurately all the similitudes." After a few days] we came to the place where we sat down. And he said to me, "Let us go to the tower; for the master of the tower is coming to examine it." And we came to the tower, and there was no one at all near it, save the virgins only. And the Shepherd asked the virgins if perchance the master of the tower had come; and they replied that he was about to come[2] to examine the building.

CHAP. VI.

And, behold, after a little I see an array of many men coming, and in the midst of them one man[3] of so remarkable a size as to overtop the tower. And the six men who had worked upon the building were with him, and many other honourable men were around him. And the virgins who kept the tower ran forward and kissed him, and began to walk near him around the tower. And that man examined the building carefully, feeling every stone separately; and holding a rod in his hand, he struck every stone in the building three times. And when he struck them, some of

[1] Omitted in Lips.

[2] And they replied that he would forthwith come.—*Vat.*

[3] 4 Esdras ii. 43.

them became black as soot, and some appeared as if covered with scabs, and some cracked, and some mutilated, and some neither white nor black, and some rough and not in keeping with the other stones, and some having [very many] stains: such were the varieties of decayed stones that were found in the building. He ordered all these to be taken out of the tower, and to be laid down beside it, and other stones to be brought and put in their stead. [And the builders asked him from what mountain he wished them to be brought and put in their place.[1]] And he did not command them to be brought from the mountains, [but he bade them be brought from a certain plain which was near at hand.[2]] And the plain was dug up, and shining rectangular stones were found, and some also of a round shape; and all the stones which were in that plain were brought, and carried through the gate by the virgins. And the rectangular stones were hewn, and put in place of those that were taken away; but the rounded stones were not put into the building, because they were hard to hew, and appeared to yield slowly to the chisel; they were deposited, however, beside the tower, as if intended to be hewn and used in the building, for they were exceedingly brilliant.

CHAP. VII.

The glorious man, the lord of the whole tower, having accordingly finished these alterations, called to him the Shepherd, and delivered to him all the stones that were lying beside the tower, that had been rejected from the building, and said to him, "Carefully clean all these stones, and put aside such for the building of the tower as may harmonize with the others; and those that do not, throw far away from the tower." [Having given these orders to the Shepherd, he departed from the tower[3]], with all those with whom he had come. Now the virgins were standing around the tower, keeping it. I said again to the Shepherd, "Can these stones return to the building of the tower, after being rejected?" He answered me, and said, "Do you see these stones?" "I see them, sir," I replied. "The greater part of these stones," he said, "I will hew, and put into the building, and they will harmonize with the others." "How, sir," I said, "can they, after being cut all round about, fill up the same space?" He answered, "Those that shall be found small will be thrown into the middle of the building, and those that are larger will be placed on the outside, and they will hold them together." Having spoken these words, he said to me, "Let us go, and after two days let us come and clean these stones, and cast them into the building; for all things around the tower must be cleaned, lest the Master come suddenly, and find the places about the tower dirty, and be displeased, and these stones be not returned for the building of the tower, and I also shall seem to be neglectful towards the Master." And after two days we came to the tower, and he said to me, "Let us examine all the stones, and ascertain those which may return to the building." I said to him, "Sir, let us examine them!"

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[1] Omitted in Lips. The text is from Vat.; slight variations in Pal. and Æth.

[2] Also omitted from Lips. The text is in all the translations.

[3] Omitted in Lips. The text in all the translations.

CHAP. VIII.

And beginning, we first examined the black stones. And such as they had been taken out of the building, were they found to remain; and the Shepherd ordered them to be removed out of the tower, and to be placed apart. Next he examined those that had scabs; and he took and hewed many of these, and commanded the virgins to take them up and cast them into the building. And the virgins lifted them up, and put them in the middle of the building of the tower. And the rest he ordered to be laid down beside the black ones; for these, too, were found to be black. He next examined those that had cracks; and he hewed many of these, and commanded them to be carried by the virgins to the building: and they were placed on the outside, because they were found to be sounder than the others; but the rest, on account of the multitude of the cracks, could not be hewn, and for this reason, therefore, they were rejected from the building of the tower. He next examined the chipped stones, and many amongst these were found to be black, and some to have great cracks. And these also he commanded to be laid down along with those which had been rejected. But the remainder, after being cleaned and hewn, he commanded to be placed in the building. And the virgins took them up, and fitted them into the middle of the building of the tower, for they were somewhat weak. He next examined those that were half white and half black, and many of them were found to be black. And he commanded these also to be taken away along with those which had been rejected. And the rest were all taken away by the virgins; for, being white, they were fitted by the virgins themselves into the building. And they were placed upon the outside, because they were found to be sound, so as to be able to support those which were placed in the middle, for no part of them at all was chipped. He next examined those that were rough and hard; and a few of them were rejected because they could not be hewn, as they were found exceedingly hard. But the rest of them were hewn, and carried by the virgins, and fitted into the middle of the building of the tower; for they were somewhat weak. He next examined those that had stains; and of these a very few were black, and were thrown aside with the others; but the greater part were found to be bright, and these were fitted by the virgins into the building, but on account of their strength were placed on the outside.

CHAP. IX.

He next came to examine the white and rounded stones, and said to me, "What are we to do with these stones?" "How do I know, sir?" I replied. "Have you no intentions regarding them?" "Sir," I answered, "I am not acquainted with this art, neither am I a stone-cutter, nor can I tell." "Do you not see," he said, "that they are exceedingly round? and if I wish to make them rectangular, a large portion of them must be cut away; for some of them must of necessity be put into the building." "If therefore," I said, "they must, why do you torment yourself, and not at once choose for the building those which you prefer, and fit them into it?" He selected the larger ones among them, and the shining ones, and hewed them; and the virgins carried and fitted them into the outside parts of the building. And the rest which remained over were carried away, and laid down on the plain from which they were brought. They were not, however, rejected, "because," he said, "there remains yet a little addition to be built to the tower. And the lord of this tower wishes all the stones to be fitted into the building, because they are exceedingly bright." And twelve women were called, very beautiful in form, clothed in black, and with dishevelled hair. And these women seemed to me to be fierce. But the Shepherd commanded them to lift the stones that were rejected from the building, and to carry them away to the mountains from which they had been brought. And they were merry, and carried away all the stones, and put them in the place whence they had been taken. Now after all the stones were removed, and there was no longer a single one lying around the tower, he said, "Let us go round the tower and see, lest there be any defect in it." So I went round the tower along with him. And the Shepherd, seeing that the tower was beautifully built, rejoiced exceedingly; for the tower was built in such a way, that, on seeing it, I coveted the building of it, for it was constructed as if built of one stone, without a single joining. And the stone seemed as if hewn out of the rock; having to me the appearance of a monolith.

CHAP. X.

And as I walked along with him, I was full of joy, beholding so many excellent things. And the Shepherd said to me, "Go and bring unslacked lime and fine-baked clay, that I may fill up the forms of the stones that were taken and thrown into the building; for everything about the tower must be smooth." And I did as he commanded me, and brought it to him. "Assist me," he said, "and the work will soon be finished." He accordingly filled up the forms of the stones that were returned to the building, and commanded the places around the tower to be swept and to be cleaned; and the virgins took brooms and swept the place, and carried all the dirt out of the tower, and brought water, and the ground around the tower became cheerful and very beautiful. Says the Shepherd to me, "Everything has been cleared away; if the lord of the tower come to inspect it, he can have no fault to find with us." Having spoken these words, he wished to depart; but I laid hold of him by the wallet, and began to adjure him by the Lord that he would explain what he had showed me. He said to me, "I must rest a little, and then I shall explain to you everything; wait for me here until I return." I said to him, "Sir, what can I do here alone?" "You are not alone," he said, "for these virgins are with you." "Give me in charge to them, then," I replied. The Shepherd called them to him, and said to them, "I entrust him to you until I come," and went away. And I was alone with the virgins; and they were rather merry, but were friendly to me, especially the four more distinguished of them.

CHAP. XI.

The virgins said to me, "The Shepherd does not come here to-day." "What, then," said I, "am I to do?" They replied, "Wait for him until he comes; and if he comes he will converse with you, and if he does not come you will remain here with us until he does come." I said to them, "I will wait for him until it is late; and if he does not arrive, I will go away into the house, and come back early in the morning." And they answered and said to me, "You were entrusted to us; you cannot go away from us." "Where, then," I said, "am I to remain?" "You will sleep with us," they replied, "as a brother, and not as a husband: for you are our brother, and for the time to come we intend to abide with you, for we love you exceedingly!" But I was ashamed to remain with them. And she who seemed to be the first among them began to kiss me. [And the others seeing her kissing me, began also to kiss me], and to lead me round the tower, and to play with me. And I, too, became like a young man, and began to play with them: for some of them formed a chorus, and others danced, and others sang; and I, keeping silence, walked with them around the tower, and was merry with them. And when it grew late I wished to go into the house; and they would not let me, but detained me. So I remained with them during the night, and slept beside the tower. Now the virgins spread their linen tunics on the ground, and made me lie down in the midst of them; and they did nothing at all but pray; and I without ceasing prayed with them, and not less than they. And the virgins rejoiced because I thus prayed. And I remained there with the virgins until the next day at the second hour. Then the Shepherd returned, and said to the virgins, "Did you offer him any insult?" "Ask him," they said. I said to him, "Sir, I was delighted that I remained with them." "On what," he asked, "did you sup?" "I supped, sir," I replied, "on the words of the Lord the whole night." "Did they receive you well?" he inquired. "Yes, sir," I answered. "Now," he said, "what do you wish to hear first?" "I wish to hear in the order," I said, "in which you showed me from the beginning. I beg of you, sir, that as I shall ask you, so also you will give me the explanation." "As you wish," he replied, "so also will I explain to you, and will conceal nothing at all from you."

CHAP. XII.

"First of all, sir," I said, "explain this to me: What is the meaning of the rock and the gate?" "This rock," he answered, "and this gate are the Son of God." "How, sir?" I said; "the rock is old, and the gate is new." "Listen," he said, "and understand, O ignorant man. The Son of God is older than all His creatures, so that He was a fellow-councillor with the Father in His work of creation: for this reason is He old." "And why is the gate new, sir?" I said. "Because," he answered, "He became manifest in the last days of the dispensation: for this reason the gate was made new, that they who are to be saved by it might enter into the kingdom of God. You saw," he said, "that those stones which came in through the gate were used for the building of the tower, and that those which did not come, were again thrown back to their own place?" "I saw, sir," I replied. "In like manner," he continued, "no one shall enter into the kingdom of God unless he receive His holy name. For if you desire to enter into a city, and that city is surrounded by a wall, and has but one gate, can you enter into that city save through the gate which it has?" "Why, how can it be otherwise, sir?" I said. "If, then, you cannot enter into the city except through its gate, so, in like manner, a man cannot otherwise enter into the kingdom of God than by the name of His beloved Son. You saw," he added, "the multitude who were building the tower?" "I saw them, sir," I said. "Those," he said, "are all glorious angels, and by them accordingly is the Lord surrounded. And the gate is the Son of God. This is the one entrance to the Lord. In no other way, then, shall any one enter in to Him except through His Son. You saw," he continued, "the six men, and the tall and glorious man in the midst of them, who walked round the tower, and rejected the stones from the building?" "I saw him, sir," I answered. "The glorious man," he said, "is the Son of God, and those six glorious angels are those who support Him on the right hand and on the left. None of these glorious angels," he continued, "will enter in unto God apart from Him. Whosoever does not receive His[1] name, shall not enter into the kingdom of God."

CHAP. XIII.

"And the tower," I asked, "what does it mean?" "This tower," he replied, "is the church." "And these virgins, who are they?" "They are holy spirits, and men cannot otherwise be found in the kingdom of God unless these have put their clothing upon them: for if you receive the name only, and do not receive from them the clothing, they are of no advantage to you. For these virgins are the powers of the Son of God. If you bear His name but possess not His power, it will be in vain that you bear His name. Those stones," he continued, "which you saw rejected bore His name, but did not put on the clothing of the virgins." "Of what nature is their clothing, sir?" I asked. "Their very names," he said, "are their clothing. Every one who bears the name of the Son of God, ought to bear the names also of these; for the Son Himself bears the names of these virgins. As many stones," he continued, "as you saw [come into the building of the tower through the hands[1]] of these virgins, and remaining, have been clothed with their strength. For this reason you see that the tower became of one stone with the rock. So also they who have believed on the Lord[2] through His Son, and are clothed with these spirits, shall become one spirit, one body, and the colour of their garments shall be one. And the dwelling of such as bear the names of the virgins is in the tower." "Those stones, sir, that were rejected," I inquired, "on what account were they rejected? for they passed through the gate, and were placed by the hands of the virgins in the building of the tower." "Since you take an interest in everything," he replied, "and examine minutely, hear about the stones that were rejected. These all," he said, "received the name of God, and they received also the strength of these virgins. Having received, then, these spirits, they were made strong, and were with the servants of God; and theirs was one spirit, and one body, and one clothing. For they were of the same mind, and wrought righteousness. After a certain time, however, they were persuaded by the women whom you saw clothed in black, and having their shoulders exposed and their hair dishevelled, and beautiful in appearance. Having seen these women, they desired to have them, and clothed themselves with their strength, and put off the strength of the virgins. These, accordingly, were rejected from the house of God, and were given over to these women. But they who were not deceived by the beauty of these women remained in the house of God. You have," he said, "the explanation of those who were rejected."

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[1] *His.* God's.—*Lips.*

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[1] Omitted in Lips. The text in Vat. and Pal. The Æth. different in form, but in meaning the same.

[2] *Lord.* God.—*Vat.*

CHAP. XIV.

"What, then, sir," I said, "if these men, being such as they are, repent and put away their desires after these women, and return again to the virgins, and walk in their strength and in their works, shall they not enter into the house of God?" "They shall enter in," he said, "if they put away the works of these women, and put on again the strength of the virgins, and walk in their works. For on this account was there a cessation in the building, in order that, if these repent, they may depart into the building of the tower. But if they do not repent, then others will come in their place, and these at the end will be cast out. For all these things I gave thanks to the Lord, because He had pity on all that call upon His name; and sent the angel of repentance to us who sinned against Him, and renewed our spirit; and when we were already destroyed, and had no hope of life, He restored us to newness of life." "Now, sir," I continued, "show me why the tower was not built upon the ground, but upon the rock and upon the gate." "Are you still," he said, "without sense and understanding?" "I must, sir," I said, "ask you of all things, because I am wholly unable to understand them; for all these things are great and glorious, and difficult for man to understand." "Listen," he said: "the name of the Son of God is great, and cannot be contained, and supports the whole world. If, then, the whole creation is supported by the Son of God, what think ye of those who are called by Him, and bear the name of the Son of God, and walk in His commandments? do you see what kind of persons He supports? Those who bear His name with their whole heart. He Himself, accordingly, became a foundation to them, and supports them with joy, because they are not ashamed to bear His name."

CHAP. XV.[1]

"Explain to me, sir," I said, "the names of these virgins, and of those women who were clothed in black raiment." "Hear," he said, "the names of the stronger virgins who stood at the corners. The first is Faith, the second Continence, the third Power, the fourth Patience. And the others standing in the midst of these have the following names: Simplicity, Innocence, Purity, Cheerfulness, Truth, Understanding, Harmony, Love. He who bears these names and that of the Son of God will be able to enter into the kingdom of God. Hear, also," he continued, "the names of the women who had the black garments; and of these four are stronger than the rest. The first is Unbelief, the second Incontinence, the third Disobedience, the fourth Deceit. And their followers are called Sorrow, Wickedness, Wantonness, Anger, Falsehood, Folly, Backbiting, Hatred. The servant of God who bears these names shall see, indeed, the kingdom of God, but shall not enter into it." "And the stones, sir," I said, "which were taken out of the pit and fitted into the building: what are they?" "The first," he said, "the ten, viz., that were placed as a foundation, are the first generation, and the twenty-five the second generation, of righteous men; and the thirty-five are the prophets of God and His ministers; and the forty are the apostles and teachers of the preaching of the Son of God." "Why, then, sir," I asked, "did the virgins carry these stones also through the gate, and give them for the building of the tower?" "Because," he answered, "these were the first who bore these spirits, and they never departed from each other, neither the spirits from the men nor the men from the spirits, but the spirits remained with them until their falling asleep. And unless they had had these spirits with them, they would not have been of use for the building of this tower."

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[1] This portion of the Leipzic Codex is much eaten away, and therefore the text is derived to a considerable extent from the translations.

Chap. xvi.

"Explain to me a little further, sir," I said. "What is it that you desire?" he asked. "Why, sir," I said, "did these stones ascend out of the pit, and be applied to the building of the tower, after having borne these spirits?" "They were obliged," he answered, "to ascend through water in order that they might be made alive; for, unless they laid aside the deadness of their life, they could not in any other way enter into the kingdom of God. Accordingly, those also who fell asleep received the seal of the Son of God. For," he continued, "before a man bears the name of the Son of God[1] he is dead; but when he receives the seal he lays aside his deadness, and obtains life. The seal, then, is the water: they descend into the water dead, and they arise alive. And to them, accordingly, was this seal preached, and they made use of it that they might enter into the kingdom of God." "Why, sir," I asked, "did the forty stones also ascend with them out of the pit, having already received the seal?" "Because," he said, "these apostles and teachers who preached the name of the Son of God, after falling asleep in the power and faith of the Son of God, preached it not only to those who were asleep, but themselves also gave them the seal of the preaching. Accordingly they descended with them into the water, and again ascended. [But these descended alive and rose up again alive; whereas they who had previously fallen asleep descended dead, but rose up again alive.[2]] By these, then, were they quickened and made to know the name of the Son of God. For this reason also did they ascend with them, and were fitted along with them into the building of the tower, and, untouched by the chisel, were built in along with them. For they slept in righteousness and in great purity, but only they had not this seal. You have accordingly the explanation of these also."

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[1] *The name of the Son of God.* The name of God.—*Lips.*

[2] All the translations and Clemens Alexandrinus (*Strom.* vi. 6, 46, p. 764) have this passage. It is omitted in Lips.

CHAP. XVII.

"I understand, sir," I replied. "Now, sir," I continued, "explain to me, with respect to the mountains, why their forms are various and diverse." "Listen," he said: "these mountains are the twelve tribes, which inhabit the whole world. The Son of God, accordingly, was preached unto them by the apostles." "But why are the mountains of various kinds, some having one form, and others another? Explain that to me, sir." "Listen," he answered: "these twelve tribes that inhabit the whole world are twelve nations. And they vary in prudence and understanding. As numerous, then, as are the varieties of the mountains which you saw, are also the diversities of mind and understanding among these nations. And I will explain to you the actions of each one." "First, sir," I said, "explain this: why, when the mountains are so diverse, their stones, when placed in the building, became one colour, shining like those also that had ascended out of the pit." "Because," he said, "all the nations that dwell under heaven were called by hearing and believing upon the name of the Son of God.[1] Having, therefore, received the seal, they had one understanding and one mind; and their faith became one, and their love one, and with the name they bore also the spirits of the virgins. On this account the building of the tower became of one colour, bright as the sun. But after they had entered into the same place, and became one body, certain of these defiled themselves, and were expelled from the race of the righteous, and became again what they were before, or rather worse."

CHAP. XVIII.

"How, sir," I said, "did they become worse, after having known God?"[2] "He that does not know God," he answered, "and practises evil, receives a certain chastisement for his wickedness; but he that has known God, ought not any longer to do evil, but to do good. If, accordingly, when he ought to do good, he do evil, does not he appear to do greater evil than he who does not know God? For this reason, they who have not known God and do evil are condemned to death; but they who have known God, and have seen His mighty works, and still continue in evil, shall be chastised doubly, and shall die for ever. In this way, then, will the church of God be purified. For as you saw the stones rejected from the tower, and delivered to the evil spirits, and cast out thence, so [they also shall be cast out, and [1]] there shall be one body of the purified, as the tower also became, as it were, of one stone after its purification. In like manner also shall it be with the church of God, after it has been purified, and has rejected the wicked, and the hypocrites, and the blasphemers, and the waverers, and those who commit wickedness of different kinds. After these have been cast away, the church of God shall be one body, of one mind, of one understanding, of one faith, of one love. And then the Son of God will be exceeding glad, and shall rejoice over them, because He has received His people pure." "All these things, sir," I said, "are great and glorious.

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[1] *Name of the Son of God.* Name of God.—*Lips.*

[2] *God* in Pal.; *Lord* in Vat. and Æth.; *Christ* in Lips.

"Moreover, sir," I said, "explain to me the power and the actions of each one of the mountains, that every soul, trusting in the Lord, and hearing it, may glorify His great, and marvellous, and glorious name." "Hear," he said, "the diversity of the mountains and of the twelve nations.

CHAP. XIX.

"From the first mountain, which was black, they that believed are the following: apostates and blasphemers against the Lord, and betrayers of the servants of God. To these repentance is not open; but death lies before them, and on this account also are they black, for their race is a lawless one. And from the second mountain, which was bare, they who believed are the following: hypocrites, and teachers of wickedness. And these, accordingly, are like the former, not having any fruits of righteousness; for as their mountain was destitute of fruit, so also such men have a name indeed, but are empty of faith, and there is no fruit of truth in them. They indeed have repentance in their power, if they repent quickly; but if they are slow in so doing, they shall die along with the former." "Why, sir," I said, "have these repentance, but the former not? for their actions are nearly the same." "On this account," he said, "have these repentance, because they did not blaspheme their Lord, nor become betrayers of the servants of God; but on account of their desire of possessions they became hypocritical, and each one taught according to the desires of men that were sinners. But they will suffer a certain punishment; and repentance is before them, because they were not blasphemers or traitors.

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[1] Omitted in Vat., Æth., Lips.

CHAP. XX.

"And from the third mountain, which had thorns and thistles, they who believed are the following. There are some of them rich, and others immersed in much business. The thistles are the rich, and the thorns are they who are immersed in much business. Those, [accordingly, who are entangled in many various kinds of business, do not[1]] cleave to the servants of God, but wander away, being choked by their business transactions; and the rich cleave with difficulty to the servants of God, fearing lest these should ask something of them. Such persons, accordingly, shall have difficulty in entering into the kingdom of God. For as it is disagreeable to walk among thistles with naked feet, so also it is hard for such to enter the kingdom of God.[2] But to all these repentance, and that speedy, is open, in order that what they did not do in former times they may make up for in these days, and do some good, and they shall live unto God. But if they abide in their deeds, they shall be delivered to those women, who will put them to death..

CHAP. XXI.

"And from the fourth mountain, which had much grass, the upper parts of the plants green, and the parts about the roots withered, and some also scorched by the sun, they who believed are the following: the doubtful, and they who have the Lord upon their lips, but have Him not in their heart. On this account their foundations are withered, and have no strength; and their words alone live, while their works are dead. Such persons are [neither alive nor [1]] dead. They resemble, therefore, the waverers: for the wavering are neither withered nor green, being neither living nor dead. For as their blades, on seeing the sun, were withered, so also the wavering, when they hear of affliction, on account of their fear, worship idols, and are ashamed of the name of their Lord. Such, then, are neither alive nor dead. But these also may yet live, if they repent quickly; and if they do not repent, they are already delivered to the women, who take away their life.

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[1] Omitted in Lips. The text from Vat. Substantially the same in the other two.

[2] Matt. xix. 23, 24.

CHAP. XXII.

"And from the fifth mountain, which had green grass, and was rugged, they who believed are the following: believers, indeed, but slow to learn, and obstinate, and pleasing themselves, wishing to know everything, and knowing nothing at all. On account of this obstinacy of theirs, understanding departed from them, and foolish senselessness entered into them. And they praise themselves as having wisdom, and desire to become teachers, although destitute of sense. On account, therefore, of this loftiness of mind, many became vain, exalting themselves: for self-will and empty confidence is a great demon. Of these, accordingly, many were rejected, but some repented and believed, and subjected themselves to those that had understanding, knowing their own foolishness. And to the rest of this class repentance is open; for they were not wicked, but rather foolish, and without understanding. If these therefore repent, they will live unto God; but if they do not repent, they shall have their dwelling with the women who wrought wickedness among them.

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[1] Omitted in Lips.

CHAP. XXIII.

"And those from the sixth mountain, which had clefts large and small, and decayed grass in the clefts, who believed, were the following: they who occupy the small clefts are those who bring charges against one another, and by reason of their slanders have decayed in the faith. Many of them, however, repented; and the rest also will repent when they hear my commandments, for their slanders are small, and they will quickly repent. But they who occupy the large clefts are persistent in their slanders, and vindictive in their anger against each other. These, therefore, were thrown away from the tower, and rejected from having a part in its building. Such persons, accordingly, shall have difficulty in living. If our God and Lord, who rules over all things, and has power over all His creation, does not remember evil against those who confess their sins, but is merciful, does man, who is corruptible and full of sins, remember evil against a fellow-man, as if he were able to destroy or to save him?[1] I, the angel of repentance, say unto you, As many of you as are of this way of thinking, lay it aside, and repent, and the Lord will heal your former sins, if you purify yourselves from this demon; but if not, you will be delivered over to him for death.

CHAP. XXIV.

"And those who believed from the seventh mountain, on which the grass was green and flourishing, and the whole of the mountain fertile, and every kind of cattle and the fowls of heaven were feeding on the grass on this mountain, and the grass on which they pastured became more abundant, were the following: they were always simple, and harmless, and blessed, bringing no charges against one another, but always rejoicing greatly because of the servants of God, and being clothed with the holy spirit of these virgins, and always having pity on every man, and giving aid from their own labour to every man, without reproach and without hesitation.[2] The

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[1] Jas. iv. 12.

[2] Sir. xx. 15, xli. 22; Jas. i. 5.

Lord, therefore, seeing their simplicity and all their meekness, multiplied them amid the labours of their hands, and gave them grace in all their doings. And I, the angel of repentance, say to you who are such, Continue to be such as these, and your seed will never be blotted out; for the Lord has made trial of you, and inscribed you in the number of us, and the whole of your seed will dwell with the Son of God; for ye have received of His Spirit.

CHAP. XXV.

"And they who believed from the eighth mountain, where were the many fountains, and where all the creatures of God drank of the fountains, were the following: apostles, and teachers, who preached to the whole world, and who taught solemnly and purely the word of the Lord, and did not at all fall into evil desires, but walked always in righteousness and truth, according as they had received the Holy Spirit. Such persons, therefore, shall enter in with the angels.[1]

CHAP. XXVI.

"And they who believed from the ninth mountain, which was deserted, and had in it creeping things and wild beasts which destroy men, were the following: they who had the stains are servants,[2] who discharged their duty ill, and who plundered widows and orphans of their livelihood, and gained possessions for themselves from the ministry, which they had received. If, therefore, they remain under the dominion of the same desire, they are dead, and there is no hope of life for them; but if they repent, and finish their ministry in a holy manner, they shall be able to live. And they who were covered with scabs are those who have denied their Lord, and have not returned to Him again; but becoming withered and desert-like, and not cleaving to the servants of God, but living in solitude, they destroy their own souls. For as a vine, when left within an enclosure, and meeting with neglect, is destroyed, and is made desolate by the weeds, and in time grows wild, and is no longer of any use to its master, so also are such men as have given themselves up, and become useless to their Lord, from having contracted savage habits. These men, therefore, have repentance in their power, unless they are found to have denied from the heart; but if any one is found to have denied from the heart, I do not know if he may live. And I say this not for these present days, in order that any one who has denied may obtain repentance, for it is impossible for him to be saved who now intends to deny his Lord; but to those who denied Him long ago, repentance seems to be possible. If, therefore, any one intends to repent, let him do so quickly, before the tower is completed; for if not, he will be utterly destroyed by the women. And the chipped stones are the deceitful and the slanderers; and the wild beasts, which you saw on the ninth mountain, are the same. For as wild beasts destroy and kill a man by their poison, so also do the words of such men destroy and ruin a man. These, accordingly, are mutilated in their faith, on account of the deeds which they have done in themselves; yet some repented, and were saved. And the rest, who are of such a character, can be saved if they repent; but if they do not repent, they will perish with those women, whose strength they have assumed.

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[1] Cf. Donaldson's *Hist. of Christ. Lit.* vol. i. p. 291.

[2] διάκονοι.

CHAP. XXVII.

"And from the tenth mountain, where were trees which overshadowed certain sheep, they who believed were the following: bishops[1] given to hospitality, who always gladly received into their houses the servants of God, without dissimulation. And the bishops never failed to protect, by their service, the widows, and those who were in want, and always maintained a holy conversation. All these, accordingly, shall be protected by the Lord for ever. They who do these things are honourable before God, and their place is already with the angels, if they remain to the end serving God.

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[1] *Bishops.* Bishops, that is, presidents of the churches.—*Vat.*

CHAP. XXVIII.

"And from the eleventh mountain, where were trees full of fruits, adorned with fruits of various kinds, they who believed were the following: they who suffered for the name of the Son of God, and who also suffered cheerfully with their whole heart, and laid down their lives." "Why, then, sir," I said, "do all these trees bear fruit, and some of them fairer than the rest?" "Listen," he said: "all who once suffered for the name of the Lord are honourable before God; and of all these the sins were remitted, because they suffered for the name of the Son of God. And why their fruits are of various kinds, and some of them superior, listen. All," he continued, "who were brought before the authorities and were examined, and did not deny, but suffered cheerfully—these are held in greater honour with God, and of these the fruit is superior; but all who were cowards, and in doubt, and who reasoned in their hearts whether they would deny or confess, and yet suffered, of these the fruit is less, because that suggestion came into their hearts; for that suggestion—that a servant should deny his Lord—is evil. Have a care, therefore, ye who are planning such things, lest that suggestion remain in your hearts, and ye perish unto God. And ye who suffer for His name ought to glorify God, because He deemed you worthy to bear His name, that all your sins might be healed. [Therefore, rather deem yourselves happy], and think that ye have done a great thing, if any of you suffer on account of God. The Lord bestows upon you life, and ye do not understand, for your sins were heavy; but if you had not suffered for the name of the Lord, ye would have died to God on account of your sins. These things I say to you who are hesitating about denying or confessing: acknowledge that ye have the Lord, lest, denying Him, ye be delivered up to prison. If the heathen chastise their slaves, when one of them denies his master, what, think ye, will your Lord do, who has authority over all men? Put away these counsels out of your hearts, that you may live continually unto God.

CHAP. XXIX.

"And they who believed from the twelfth mountain, which was white, are the following: they are as infant children, in whose hearts no evil originates; nor did they know what wickedness is, but always remained as children. Such accordingly, without doubt, dwell in the kingdom of God, because they defiled in nothing the commandments of God; but they remained like children all the days of their life in the same mind. All of you, then, who shall remain stedfast, and be as children,[1] without doing evil, will be more honoured than all who have been previously mentioned; for all infants are honourable before God, and are the first persons with Him. Blessed, then, are ye who put away wickedness from yourselves, and put on innocence. As the first of all will you live unto God."

After he had finished the similitudes of the mountains, I said to him, "Sir, explain to me now about the stones that were taken out of the plain, and put into the building instead of the stones that were taken out of the tower; and about the round stones that were put into the building; and those that still remain round."

CHAP. XXX.

"Hear," he answered, "about all these also. The stones taken out of the plain and put into the building of the tower instead of those that were rejected, are the roots of this white mountain. When, therefore, they who believed from the white mountain were all found guileless, the Lord of the tower commanded those from the roots of this mountain to be cast into the building of the tower; for he knew that if these stones were to go to the building of the tower, they would remain bright, and not one of them become black.[2] But if he had so resolved with respect to the other mountains, it would have been necessary for him to visit that tower

[1] Matt. xviii. 3.

[2] Here ends Codex Lipsiensis. The rest of the text is from the common translation corrected by the Palatine and Æthiopic.

again, and to cleanse it. Now all these persons were found white who believed, and who will yet believe, for they are of the same race. This is a happy race, because it is innocent. Hear now, further, about these round and shining stones. All these also are from the white mountain. Hear, moreover, why they were found round: because their riches had obscured and darkened them a little from the truth, although they never departed from God; nor did any evil word proceed out of their mouth, but all justice, virtue, and truth. When the Lord, therefore, saw the mind of these persons, that they were born good, and could be good, He ordered their riches to be cut down, not to be taken away for ever, that they might be able to do some good with what was left them; and they will live unto God, because they are of a good race. Therefore were they rounded a little by the chisel, and put in the building of the tower.

CHAP. XXXI.

"But the other round stones, which had not yet been adapted to the building of the tower, and had not yet received the seal, were for this reason put back into their place, because they are exceedingly round. Now this age must be cut down in these things, and in the vanities of their riches, and then they will meet in the kingdom of God; for they must of necessity enter into the kingdom of God, because the Lord has blessed this innocent race. Of this race, therefore, no one will perish; for although any of them be tempted by the most wicked devil, and commit sin, he will quickly return to his Lord. I deem you happy, I, who am the messenger of repentance, whoever of you are innocent as children,[1] because your part is good, and honourable before God. Moreover, I say to you all, who have received the seal of the Son of God, be clothed with simplicity, and be not mindful of offences, nor remain in wickedness. Lay aside, therefore, the recollection of your offences and bitternesses, and you will be formed in one spirit. And heal and take away from you those wicked schisms, that if the Lord of the flocks come, He may rejoice concerning you. And He will rejoice, if He find all things sound, and none of you shall perish. But if He find any one of these sheep strayed, woe to the shepherds! And if the shepherds themselves have strayed, what answer will they give Him for their flocks? Will they perchance say that they were harassed by their flocks? They will not be believed, for the thing is incredible that a shepherd could suffer from his flock; rather will he be punished on account of his falsehood. And I myself am a shepherd, and I am under a most stringent necessity of rendering an account of you.

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[1] Matt. xviii. 3, xix. 14.

CHAP. XXXII.

"Heal yourselves, therefore, while the tower is still building. The Lord dwells in men that love peace, because He loved peace; but from the contentious and the utterly wicked He is far distant. Restore to Him, therefore, a spirit sound as ye received it. For when you have given to a fuller a new garment, and desire to receive it back entire at the end, if, then, the fuller return you a torn garment, will you take it from him, and not rather be angry, and abuse him, saying, 'I gave you a garment that was entire: why have you rent it, and made it useless, so that it can be of no use on account of the rent which you have made in it?' Would you not say all this to the fuller about the rent which you found in your garment? If, therefore, you grieve about your garment, and complain because you have not received it entire, what do you think the Lord will do to you, who gave you a sound spirit, which you have rendered altogether useless, so that it can be of no service to its possessor? for its use began to be unprofitable, seeing it was corrupted by you. Will not the Lord, therefore, because of this conduct of yours regarding His Spirit, act in the same way, and deliver you over to death? Assuredly, I say, he will do the same to all those whom He shall find retaining a recollection of offences. Do not trample His mercy under foot, He says, but rather honour Him, because He is so patient with your sins, and is not as ye are. Repent, for it is useful to you.

Chap. XXXIII.

"All these things which are written above, I, the Shepherd, the messenger of repentance, have showed and spoken to the servants of God.[1] If therefore ye believe, and listen to my words, and walk in them, and amend your ways, you shall have it in your power to live: but if you remain in wickedness, and in the recollection of offences, no sinner of that class will live unto God. All these words which I had to say have been spoken unto you."

The Shepherd said to me, "Have you asked me everything?" And I replied, "Yes, sir." "Why did you not ask me about the shape of the stones that were put into the building, that I might explain to you why we filled up the shapes?" And I said, "I forgot, sir." "Hear now, then," he said, "about this also. These are they who have now heard my commandments, and repented with their whole hearts. And when the Lord saw that their repentance was good and pure, and that they were able to remain in it, He ordered their former sins to be blotted out. For these shapes were their sins, and they were levelled down, that they might not appear."

SIMILITUDE TENTH.

Concerning Repentance and Alms-giving.

Chap. I.

After I had fully written down this book, that messenger who had delivered me to the Shepherd came into the house in which I was, and sat down upon a couch, and the Shepherd stood on his right hand. He then called me, and spoke to me as follows: "I have delivered you and your house to the Shepherd, that you may be protected by him." "Yes, sir," I said. "If you wish, therefore, to be protected," he said, "from all annoyance, and from all harsh treatment, and to have success in every good work and word, and to possess all the virtues of righteousness, walk in these commandments which he has given you, and you will be able to subdue all wickedness. For if you keep those commandments, every desire and pleasure of the world will be subject to you, and success will attend you in every good work. Take unto yourself his experience and moderation, and say to all that he is in great honour and dignity with God, and that he is a president with great power, and mighty in his office. To him alone throughout the whole world is the power of repentance assigned. Does he seem to you to be powerful? But you despise his experience, and the moderation which he exercises towards you."

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[1] *Servants of God.* Servant of the Lord.—*Æth.*

Chap. II.

I said to him, "Ask himself, sir, whether from the time that he has entered my house I have done anything improper, or have offended him in any respect." He answered, "I also know that you neither have done nor will do anything improper, and therefore I speak these words to you, that you may persevere. For he had a good report of you to me, and you will say these words to others, that they also who have either repented or will still repent may entertain the same feelings with you, and he may report well of these to me, and I to the Lord." And I said, "Sir, I make known to every man the great works of God: and I hope that all those who love them, and have sinned before, on hearing these words, may repent, and receive life again." "Continue, therefore, in this ministry, and finish it. And all who follow out his commands shall have life, and great honour with the Lord.[1] But those who do not keep his commandments, flee from his life, and despise him. But he has his own honour with the Lord. All, therefore, who shall despise him,[2] and not follow his commands, deliver themselves to death, and every one of them will be guilty of his own blood. But I enjoin you, that you obey his commands, and you will have a cure for your former sins.

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[1] *Lord.* God.—*Pal.*

[2] *But he has his own honour . . . despise him*, omitted in Vat.

CHAP. III.

"Moreover, I sent you these virgins, that they may dwell with you. For I saw that they were courteous to you. You will therefore have them as assistants, that you may be the better able to keep his commands: for it is impossible that these commandments can be observed without these virgins. I see, moreover, that they abide with you willingly; but I will also instruct them not to depart at all from your house: do you only keep your house pure, as they will delight to dwell in a pure abode. For they are pure, and chaste, and industrious, and have all influence with the Lord. Therefore, if they find your house to be pure, they will remain with you; but if any defilement, even a little, befall it, they will immediately withdraw from your house. For these virgins do not at all like any defilement." I said to him, "I hope, sir, that I will please them, so that they may always be willing to inhabit my house. And as he to whom you entrusted me has no complaint against me, so neither will they have." He said to the Shepherd, "I see that the servant of God wishes to live, and to keep these commandments, and will place these virgins in a pure habitation." When he had spoken these words he again delivered me to the Shepherd, and called those virgins, and said to them, "Since I see that you are willing to dwell in his house, I commend him and his house to you, asking that you withdraw not at all from it." And the virgins heard these words with pleasure.

CHAP. IV.

The angel[1] then said to me, "Conduct yourself manfully in this service, and make known to every one the great things of God,[2] and you will have favour in this ministry. Whoever, therefore, shall walk in these commandments, shall have life, and will be happy in his life; but whosoever shall neglect them shall not have life, and will be unhappy in this life. Enjoin all, who are able to act rightly, not to cease well-doing;

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[1] Angel, *Æth.;* Pastor, *Pal.;* omitted in Vat.

[2] *God*, common version; Lord, *Æth.*, *Pal.;* Lord God, *Vat.*

for, to practise good works is useful to them. And I say that every man ought to be saved from inconveniences. For both he who is in want, and he who suffers inconveniences in his daily life, is in great torture and necessity. Whoever, therefore, rescues a soul of this kind from necessity, will gain for himself great joy. For he who is harassed by inconveniences of this kind, suffers equal torture with him who is in chains. Moreover many, on account of calamities of this sort, when they could not endure them, hasten their own deaths. Whoever, then, knows a calamity of this kind afflicting a man, and does not save him, commits a great sin, and becomes guilty of his blood. Do good works, therefore, ye who have received good from the Lord; lest, while ye delay to do them, the building of the tower be finished, and you be rejected from the edifice: there is now no other tower a-building. For on your account was the work of building suspended. Unless, then, you make haste to do rightly, the tower will be completed, and you will be excluded."

After he had spoken with me he rose up from the couch, and taking the Shepherd and the virgins, he departed. But he said to me that he would send back the Shepherd and the virgins to my dwelling. Amen.[1]

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[1] The Vatican has: "Here ends the Book of the Shepherd, the disciple of the blessed apostle Paul. Thanks be to God." The Æthiopic has: "May the name of him who wrote this book be written on a pillar of gold. With thanksgiving to Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, this book of the prophet Hermas has been finished. Amen. Finished are the visions, and commandments, and similitudes of the prophet Hermas, who is Paul, in the year 191 of mercy, 23d night and 22d day of the month," etc. The writer goes on to show that Hermas is Paul, appealing to Acts xiii. 12.

FRAGMENTS OF PAPIAS.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

THE principal information in regard to Papias is given in the extracts made among the fragments from the works of Irenæus and Eusebius. He was bishop of the church in Hierapolis, a city of Phrygia, in the first half of the second century. Later writers affirm that he suffered martyrdom about A.D. 163; some saying that Rome, others that Pergamus, was the scene of his death.

He was a hearer of the Apostle John, and was on terms of intimate intercourse with many who had known the Lord and His apostles. From these he gathered the floating traditions in regard to the sayings of our Lord, and wove them into a production divided into five books. This work does not seem to have been confined to an exposition of the sayings of Christ, but to have contained much historical information.

Eusebius[1] speaks of Papias as a man most learned in all things, and well acquainted with the Scriptures. In another passage[2] he describes him as of small capacity. The fragments of Papias are translated from the text given in Routh's *Reliquiæ Sacræ*, vol. i.

[1] *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 39.

[2] *Ibid.*

FRAGMENTS OF PAPIAS.

I.

From the Exposition of the Oracles of the Lord.[1]

[THE writings of Papias in common circulation are five in number, and these are called an Exposition of the Oracles of the Lord. Irenæus makes mention of these as the only works written by him, in the following words: "Now testimony is borne to these things in writing by Papias, an ancient man, who was a hearer of John, and a friend of Polycarp, in the fourth of his books; for five books were composed by him." Thus wrote Irenæus. Moreover, Papias himself, in the introduction to his books, makes it manifest that he was not himself a hearer and eye-witness of the holy apostles; but he tells us that he received the truths of our religion[2] from those who were acquainted with them [the apostles] in the following words:]

But I shall not be unwilling to put down, along with my interpretations,[3] whatsoever instructions I received with care at any time from the elders, and stored up with care in my memory, assuring you at the same time of their truth. For I did not, like the multitude, take pleasure in those who spoke much, but in those who taught the truth; nor in those who related strange commandments,[1] but in those who rehearsed the commandments given by the Lord to faith,[2] and proceeding from truth itself. If, then, any one who had attended on the elders came, I asked minutely after their sayings,—what Andrew or Peter said, or what was said by Philip, or by Thomas, or by James, or by John, or by Matthew, or by any other of the Lord's disciples: which things[3] Aristion and the presbyter John, the disciples of the Lord, say. For I imagined that what was to be got from books was not so profitable to me as what came from the living and abiding voice.

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[1] This fragment is found in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 39.

[2] Literally, "the things of faith."

[3] Papias states that he will give an exact account of what the elders said; and that, in addition to this, he will accompany this account with an explanation of the meaning and import of the statements.

II.[4]

[The early Christians] *called those who practised a godly guilelessness,*[5] *children,* [as is stated by Papias in the first book of the Lord's Expositions, and by Clemens Alexandrinus in his *Pædagogue.*]

III.[6]

Judas walked about in this world a sad[7] example of impiety; for his body having swollen to such an extent that he could not pass where a chariot could pass easily, he was crushed by the chariot, so that his bowels gushed out.[8]

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[1] Literally, "commandments belonging to others," and therefore strange and novel to the followers of Christ.

[2] *Given to faith* has been variously understood. Either not stated in direct language, but like parables given in figures, so that only the faithful could understand; or entrusted to faith, that is, to those who were possessed of faith, the faithful.

[3] *Which things:* this is usually translated, "what Aristion and John say;" and the translation is admissible. But the words more naturally mean, that John and Aristion, even at the time of his writing, were telling him some of the sayings of the Lord.

[4] This fragment is found in the *Scholia* of Maximus on the works of Dionysius the Areopagite.

[5] Literally, "a guilelessness according to God."

[6] This fragment is found in Œcumenius.

[7] Literally, "great."

[8] Literally, "were emptied out." Theophylact, after quoting this

IV.[1]

[As the elders who saw John the disciple of the Lord remembered that they had heard from him how the Lord taught in regard to those times, and said]: "The days will come in which vines shall grow, having each ten thousand branches, and in each branch ten thousand twigs, and in each true twig ten thousand shoots, and in every one of the shoots ten thousand clusters, and on every one of the clusters ten thousand grapes, and every grape when pressed will give five-and-twenty metretes of wine. And when any one of the saints shall lay hold of a cluster, another shall cry out, 'I am a better cluster, take me; bless the Lord through me.' In like manner, [He said] that a grain of wheat would produce ten thousand ears, and that every ear would have ten thousand grains, and every grain would yield ten pounds of clear, pure, fine flour; and that apples, and seeds, and grass would produce in similar proportions; and that all animals, feeding then only on the productions of the earth, would become peaceable and harmonious, and be in perfect subjection to man." [Testimony is borne to these things in writing by Papias, an ancient man, who was a hearer of John and a friend of Polycarp, in the fourth of his books; for five books were composed by him. And he added, saying, "Now these things are credible to believers. And Judas the traitor," says he, "not believing, and asking, 'How shall such growths be accomplished by the Lord?' the Lord said, 'They shall see who shall come to them.' These, then, are the times mentioned by the prophet Isaiah: 'And the wolf shall lie down with the lamb,' etc. (Isa. xi. 6 ff.)."]

passage, adds other particulars, as if they were derived from Papias. He says that Judas's eyes were so swollen that they could not see the light; that they were so sunk that they could not be seen, even by the optical instruments of physicians; and that the rest of his body was covered with runnings and worms. He further states, that he died in a solitary spot, which was left desolate until his time; and no one could pass the place without stopping up his nose with his hands.

[1] From Irenæus, *Hær.* v. 32.

V.[1]

As the presbyters say, then[2] those who are deemed worthy of an abode in heaven shall go there, others shall enjoy the delights of Paradise, and others shall possess the splendour of the city;[3] for everywhere the Saviour will be seen, according as they shall be worthy who see Him. But that there is this distinction between the habitation of those who produce an hundred-fold, and that of those who produce sixty-fold, and that of those who produce thirty-fold; for the first will be taken up into the heavens, the second class will dwell in Paradise, and the last will inhabit the city; and that on this account the Lord said, "In my Father's house are many mansions:"[4] for all things belong to God, who supplies all with a suitable dwelling-place, even as His word says, that a share is given to all by the Father,[5] according as each one is or shall be worthy. And this is the couch[6] in which they shall recline who feast, being invited to the wedding. The presbyters, the disciples of the apostles, say that this is the gradation and arrangement of those who are saved, and that they advance through steps of this nature; and that, moreover, they ascend through the Spirit to the Son, and through the Son to the Father; and that in due time the Son will yield up His work to the Father, even as it is said by the apostle, "For He must reign till He hath put all enemies under His feet. The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death."[7] For in the times of the kingdom the just man who is on the earth shall forget to die. "But when He saith all things are put under Him, it is manifest that He is excepted which did put all things under Him. And when all things shall be subdued unto Him, then shall the Son also Himself be subject unto Him that put all things under Him, that God may be all in all."[1]

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[1] This fragment is found in Irenæus, *Hær.* v. 36; but it is a mere guess that the saying of the presbyters is taken from the work of Papias.

[2] In the future state.

[3] The new Jerusalem on earth.

[4] John xiv. 2.

[5] Commentators suppose that the reference here is to Matt. xx. 23.

[6] Matt. xxii. 10.

[7] 1 Cor. xv. 25, 26.

VI.[2]

[Papias, who is now mentioned by us, affirms that he received the sayings of the apostles from those who accompanied them, and he moreover asserts that he heard in person Aristion and the presbyter John. Accordingly he mentions them frequently by name, and in his writings gives their traditions. Our notice of these circumstances may not be without its use. It may also be worth while to add to the statements of Papias already given, other passages of his in which he relates some miraculous deeds, stating that he acquired the knowledge of them from tradition. The residence of the Apostle Philip with his daughters in Hierapolis has been mentioned above. We must now point out how Papias, who lived at the same time, relates that he had received a wonderful narrative from the daughters of Philip. For he relates that a dead man was raised to life in his day.[3] He also mentions another miracle relating to Justus, surnamed Barsabas, how he swallowed a deadly poison, and received no harm, on account of the grace of the Lord. The same person, moreover, has set down other things as coming to him from unwritten tradition, amongst these some strange parables and instructions of the Saviour, and some other things of a more fabulous nature. Amongst these he says that there will be a millennium after the resurrection from the dead, when the personal reign of Christ will be established on this earth. He moreover hands down, in his own writing, other narratives given by the previously mentioned Aristion of the Lord's sayings, and the traditions of the presbyter John. For information on these points, we can merely refer our readers to the books themselves; but now, to the extracts already made, we shall add, as being a matter of primary importance, a tradition regarding Mark who wrote the Gospel, which he [Papias] has given in the following words] : And the presbyter said this. Mark having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote down accurately whatsoever he remembered. It was not, however, in exact order that he related the sayings or deeds of Christ. For he neither heard the Lord nor accompanied Him. But afterwards, as I said, he accompanied Peter, who accommodated his instructions to the necessities [of his hearers], but with no intention of giving a regular narrative of the Lord's sayings. Wherefore Mark made no mistake in thus writing some things as he remembered them. For of one thing he took especial care, not to omit anything he had heard, and not to put anything fictitious into the statements. [This is what is related by Papias regarding Mark ; but with regard to Matthew he has made the following statements] : Matthew put together the oracles [of the Lord] in the Hebrew language, and each one interpreted them as best he could. [The same person uses proofs from the First Epistle of John, and from the Epistle of Peter in like manner. And he also gives another story of a woman [1] who was accused of many sins before the Lord, which is to be found in the Gospel according to the Hebrews.]

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[1] 1 Cor. xv. 27, 28.

[2] From Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 39.

[3] "In his day" may mean "in the days of Papias," or "in the days of Philip." As the narrative came from the daughters of Philip, it is more likely that Philip's days are meant.

VII.[2]

Papias thus speaks, word for word: To some of them [angels] He gave dominion over the arrangement of the world, and He commissioned them to exercise their dominion well. *And he says, immediately after this:* but it happened that their arrangement came to nothing.[3]

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[1] Rufinus supposes this story to be the same as that now found in the *textus receptus* of John's Gospel, viii. 1-11—the woman taken in adultery.

[2] This extract is made from Andreas Cæsariensis.

[3] That is, that government of the world's affairs was a failure. An ancient writer takes τάξις to mean the arraying of the evil angels in battle against God.

VIII.[1]

With regard to the inspiration of the book (Revelation), we deem it superfluous to add another word; for the blessed Gregory Theologus and Cyril, and even men of still older date, Papias, Irenæus, Methodius, and Hippolytus, bore entirely satisfactory testimony to it.

IX.[2]

Taking occasion from Papias of Hierapolis, the illustrious, a disciple of the apostle who leaned on the bosom of Christ, and Clemens, and Pantænus the priest of [the church] of the Alexandrians, and the wise Ammonius, the ancient and first expositors, who agreed with each other, who understood the work of the six days as referring to Christ and the whole church.

X.[3]

(1.) Mary the mother of the Lord; (2.) Mary the wife of Cleophas or Alpheus, who was the mother of James the bishop and apostle, and of Simon and Thaddeus, and of one Joseph; (3.) Mary Salome, wife of Zebedee, mother of John the evangelist and James; (4.) Mary Magdalene. These four are found in the Gospel. James and Judas and Joseph were sons of an aunt (2) of the Lord's. James also and John were sons of another aunt (3) of the Lord's. Mary (2), mother of James the less and Joseph, wife of Alpheus, was the sister of Mary the mother of the Lord, whom John names of Cleophas, either from her father or from the family of the clan, or for some other reason. Mary Salome (3) is called Salome either from her husband or her village. Some affirm that she is the same as Mary of Cleophas, because she had two husbands.

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[1] This also is taken from Andreas Cæsariensis.

[2] This fragment, or rather reference, is taken from Anastasius Sinaita. Routh gives, as another fragment, the repetition of the same statement by Anastasius.

[3] This fragment was found by Grabe in a MS. of the Bodleian Library, with the inscription on the margin, "Papia." Westcott states that it forms part of a dictionary written by "a mediæval Papias. The dictionary exists in MS. both at Oxford and Cambridge."

APPENDIX.

THE SPURIOUS EPISTLES OF IGNATIUS.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

WE formerly stated[1] that eight out of the fifteen epistles bearing the name of Ignatius are now universally admitted to be spurious. None of them are quoted or referred to by any ancient writer previous to the sixth century. The style, moreover, in which they are written, so different from that of the other Ignatian letters, and allusions which they contain to heresies and ecclesiastical arrangements of a much later date than that of their professed author, render it perfectly certain that they are not the authentic production of the illustrious bishop of Antioch.

We cannot tell when or by whom these epistles were fabricated. They have been thought to betray the same hand as the longer and interpolated form of the seven epistles which are generally regarded as genuine. And some have conceived that the writer who gave forth to the world the "Apostolic Constitutions" under the name of Clement, was probably the author of these letters falsely ascribed to Ignatius, as well as of the longer recension of the seven epistles which are mentioned by Eusebius.

It was a considerable time before editors in modern times began to discriminate between the true and the false in the writings attributed to Ignatius. The letters first published under his name were those three which exist only in Latin. These came forth in 1495 at Paris, being appended to a life of Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury. Some three years later, eleven epistles, comprising those mentioned by Eusebius, and four others, were published in Latin, and passed through four or five editions. In 1536, the whole of the professedly

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[1] P. 139.

Ignatian letters were published at Cologne in a Latin version; and this collection also passed through several editions. It was not till 1557 that the Ignatian epistles appeared for the first time in Greek at Dillingen. After this date many editions came forth, in which the probably genuine were still mixed up with the certainly spurious, the three Latin letters only being rejected as destitute of authority. Vedelius of Geneva first made the distinction which is now universally accepted, in an edition of these epistles which he published in 1623; and he was followed by Archbishop Usher and others, who entered more fully into that critical examination of these writings which has been continued down even to our own day.

The reader will have no difficulty in detecting the internal grounds on which these eight letters are set aside as spurious. The difference of style from the other Ignatian writings will strike him even in perusing the English version which we have given, while it is of course much more marked in the original. And other decisive proofs present themselves in every one of the epistles. In that to the Tarsians there is found a plain allusion to the Sabellian heresy, which did not arise till after the middle of the third century. In the Epistle to the Antiochians there is an enumeration of various church officers, who were certainly unknown at the period when Ignatius lived. The Epistle to Hero plainly alludes to Manichæan errors, and could not therefore have been written before the third century. There are equally decisive proofs of spuriousness to be found in the Epistle to the Philippians, such as the references it contains to the Patripassian heresy originated by Praxeas in the latter part of the second century, and the ecclesiastical feasts, etc., of which it makes mention. The letter to Maria Cassobolita is of a very peculiar style, utterly alien from that of the other epistles ascribed to Ignatius. And it is sufficient simply to glance at the short Epistles to St John and the Virgin Mary, in order to see that they carry the stamp of imposture on their front; and, indeed, no sooner were they published than by almost universal consent they were rejected.

But though the additional Ignatian letters here given are confessedly spurious, we have thought it not improper to present them to the English reader in an appendix to our first volume. We have done so, because they have been so closely connected with the name of the bishop of Antioch, and also because they are in themselves not destitute of interest. We have, moreover, the satisfaction of thus placing for the first time within the reach of one acquainted only with our language, all the materials that have entered into the protracted agitation of the famous Ignatian controversy.

THE EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS TO THE TARSIANS.

IGNATIUS, *who is also called Theophorus, to the church which is at Tarsus, saved in Christ, worthy of praise, worthy of remembrance, and worthy of love: Mercy and peace from God the Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ, be ever multiplied.*

CHAP. I.—*His own sufferings: exhortation to stedfastness.*

From Syria even unto Rome I fight with beasts: not that I am devoured by brute beasts, for these, as ye know, by the will of God, spared Daniel, but by beasts in the shape of men, in whom the merciless wild beast himself lies hid, and pricks and wounds me day by day. But none of these hardships "move me, neither count I my life dear unto myself,"[1] in such a way as to love it better than the Lord. Wherefore I am prepared for [encountering] fire, wild beasts, the sword, or the cross, so that only I may see Christ my Saviour and God, who died for me. I therefore, the prisoner of Christ, who am driven along by land and sea, exhort you: "stand fast in the faith,"[2] and be ye stedfast, "for the just shall live by faith;"[3] be ye unwavering, for "the Lord causes those to dwell in a house who are of one and the same character."[4]

CHAP. II.—*Cautions against false doctrine.*

I have learned that certain of the ministers of Satan have wished to disturb you, some of them asserting that Jesus was born [only[1]] in appearance, was crucified in appearance, and died in appearance; others that He is not the Son of the Creator, and others that He is Himself God over all.[2] Others, again, hold that He is a mere man, and others that this flesh is not to rise again, so that our proper course is to live and partake of a life of pleasure, for that this is the chief good to beings who are in a little while to perish. A swarm of such evils has burst in upon us.[3] But ye have not "given place by subjection to them, no, not for one hour."[4] For ye are the fellow-citizens as well as the disciples of Paul, who "fully preached the gospel from Jerusalem, and round about unto Illyricum,"[5] and bare about "the marks of Christ" in his flesh.[6]

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[1] Acts xx. 24.

[2] 1 Cor. xvi. 13.

[3] Hab. ii. 4; Gal. iii. 11.

[4] Ps. lxviii. 7 (after the LXX.).

Chap. iii.—*The true doctrine respecting Christ.*

Mindful of him, do ye by all means know that Jesus the Lord was truly born of Mary, being made of a woman; and was as truly crucified. For, says he, "God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of the Lord Jesus."[7] And He really suffered, and died, and rose again. For says [Paul], "If Christ should become passible, and should be the first to rise again from the dead."[8] And again, "In that He died, He died unto sin once: but in that He liveth, He liveth unto God."[9] Otherwise, what advantage would there be in [becoming subject to] bonds, if Christ has not died? what advantage in patience? what advantage in [enduring] stripes? And why such facts as the following: Peter was crucified; Paul and James were slain with the sword; John was banished to Patmos; Stephen was stoned to death by the Jews who killed the Lord? But, [in truth,] none of these sufferings were in vain; for the Lord was really crucified by the ungodly.

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[1] Some omit this.

[2] That is, as appears afterwards from chap. v., so as to have no personality distinct from the Father.

[3] The translation is here somewhat doubtful.

[4] Gal. ii. 5.

[5] Rom. xv. 19.

[6] Gal. vi. 17.

[7] Gal. vi. 14.

[8] Acts xxvi. 23 (somewhat inaccurately rendered in English version).

[9] Rom. vi. 10.

CHAP. IV.—*Continuation.*

And [know ye, moreover], that He who was born of a woman was the Son of God, and He that was crucified was "the first-born of every creature,"[1] and God the Word, who also created all things. For says the apostle, "There is one God, the Father, of whom are all things; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things."[2] And again, "For there is one God, and one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus;"[3] and, "By Him were all things created that are in heaven, and on earth, visible and invisible; and He is before all things, and by Him all things consist."[4]

CHAP. V.—*Refutation of the previously mentioned errors.*

And that He Himself is not God over all, and the Father, but His Son, He [shows when He] says, "I ascend unto my Father and your Father, and to my God and your God."[5] And again, "When all things shall be subdued unto Him, then shall He also Himself be subject unto Him that put all things under Him, that God may be all in all."[6] Wherefore it is one [Person] who put all things under, and who is all in all, and another [Person] to whom they were subdued, who also Himself, along with all other things, becomes subject [to the former].

CHAP. VI.—*Continuation.*

Nor is He a mere man, by whom and in whom all things were made; for "all things were made by Him."[7] "When He made the heaven, I was present with Him; and I was there with Him, forming [the world along with Him], and He rejoiced in me daily."[8] And how could a mere man be addressed in such words as these: "Sit Thou at my right hand?"[9] And how, again, could such an one declare: "Before Abraham was, I am?"[10] And, "Glorify me with

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[1] Col. i. 15.
[2] 1 Cor. viii. 6.
[3] 1 Tim. ii. 5.
[4] Col. i. 16, 17.
[5] John xx. 17.
[6] 1 Cor. xv. 28.
[7] John i. 3.
[8] Prov. viii. 27, 30.
[9] Ps. cx. 1.
[10] John viii. 58.

Thy glory which I had before the world was?"[1] What man could ever say, "I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of Him that sent me?"[2] And of what man could it be said, "He was the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world: He was in the world, and the world was made by Him, and the world knew Him not. He came unto His own, and His own received Him not?"[3] How could such a one be a mere man, receiving the beginning of His existence from Mary, and not rather God the Word, and the only-begotten Son? For "in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God,[4] and the Word was God."[5] And in another place, "The Lord created me, the beginning of His ways, for His works. Before the world did He found me, and before all the hills did He beget me."[6]

CHAP. VII.—*Continuation.*

And that our bodies are to rise again, He shows when He says, "Verily I say unto you, that the hour cometh, in the which all that are in the graves shall hear the voice of the Son of God; and they that hear shall live."[7] And [says] the apostle, "For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality."[8] And that we must live soberly and righteously, he [shows when he] says again, "Be not deceived: neither adulterers, nor effeminate persons, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, nor fornicators, nor revilers, nor drunkards, nor thieves, can inherit the kingdom of God."[9] And again, "If the dead rise not, then is not Christ raised; our preaching therefore is vain, and your faith is also vain: ye are yet in your sins. Then they also that are fallen asleep in Christ have perished. If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable. If the dead rise not, let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die."[10] But if such be our condition and feelings, wherein shall we differ from asses and dogs, who have no care about the future, but think only of eating, and of indulging[1] such appetites as follow after eating? For they are unacquainted with any intelligence moving within them.

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[1] John xvii. 5.

[2] John vi. 38.

[3] John i. 9, 10, 11.

[4] John i. 1.

[5] Some insert here John i. 3.

[6] Prov. viii. 22, 23, 25.

[7] John. v. 25, 28.

[8] 1 Cor. xv. 53.

[9] 1 Cor. vi. 9.

[10] 1 Cor. xv. 13, 14, 17, 18, 19, 32.

CHAP. VIII.—*Exhortations to holiness and good order.*

May I have joy of you in the Lord! Be ye sober. Lay aside, every one of you, all malice and beast-like fury, evil-speaking, calumny, filthy speaking, ribaldry, whispering, arrogance, drunkenness, lust, avarice, vainglory, envy, and everything akin to these. "But put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make no provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof."[2] Ye presbyters, be subject to the bishop; ye deacons, to the presbyters; and ye, the people, to the presbyters and the deacons. Let my soul be for theirs who preserve this good order; and may the Lord be with them continually!

CHAP. IX.—*Exhortations to the discharge of relative duties.*

Ye husbands, love your wives; and ye wives, your husbands. Ye children, reverence your parents. Ye parents, "bring up your children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord."[3] Honour those [who continue] in virginity, as the priestesses of Christ; and the widows [that persevere] in gravity of behaviour, as the altar of God. Ye servants, wait upon your masters with [respectful] fear. Ye masters, issue orders to your servants with tenderness. Let no one among you be idle; for idleness is the mother of want. I do not enjoin these things as being a person of any consequence, although I am in bonds [for Christ]; but as a brother, I put you in mind of them. The Lord be with you!

CHAP. X.—*Salutations.*

May I enjoy your prayers! Pray ye that I may attain to Jesus. I commend unto you the church which is at Antioch.

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[1] Literally, "coming also to the appetite of those things after eating." The text is doubtful.

[2] Rom. xiii. 14.

[3] Eph. vi. 4.

The churches of Philippi,[1] whence also I write to you, salute you. Philo, your deacon, to whom also I give thanks as one who has zealously ministered to me in all things, salutes you. Agathopus, the deacon from Syria, who follows me in Christ, salutes you. "Salute ye one another with a holy kiss."[2] I salute you all, both male and female, who are in Christ. Fare ye well in body, and soul, and in one Spirit; and do not ye forget me. The Lord be with you!

[1] Literally, "of the Philippians."

[2] 1 Pet. v. 14.

THE EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS TO THE ANTIOCHIANS.

IGNATIUS, *who is also called Theophorus, to the church sojourning in Syria, which has obtained mercy from God, and been elected by Christ, and which first*[1] *received the name of Christ, [wishes] happiness in God the Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ.*

CHAP. I.—*Cautions against error.*

The Lord has rendered my bonds light and easy since I learnt that you are in peace, and that you live in all harmony both of the flesh and spirit. "I therefore, the prisoner of the Lord,[2] beseech you, that ye walk worthy of the vocation wherewith ye are called,"[3] guarding against those heresies of the wicked one which have broken in upon us, to the deceiving and destruction of those that accept of them; but that ye give heed to the doctrine of the apostles, and believe both the law and the prophets: that ye reject every Jewish and Gentile error, and neither introduce a multiplicity of gods, nor yet deny Christ under the pretence of [maintaining] the unity of God.

CHAP. II.—*The true doctrine respecting God and Christ.*

For Moses, the faithful servant of God, when he said, "The Lord thy God is one Lord,"[4] and thus proclaimed that there was only one God, did yet forthwith confess also our Lord when he said, "The Lord rained upon Sodom and Gomorrah fire and brimstone from the Lord."[1] And again, "And God[2] said, Let us make man after our image: and so God made man, after the image of God made He him."[3] And further, "In the image of God made He man."[4] And that [the Son of God] was to be made man, [Moses shows when] he says, "A prophet shall the Lord raise up unto you of your brethren, like unto me."[5]

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[1] Comp. Acts xi. 26.

[2] Literally, "in the Lord."

[3] Eph. iv. 1.

[4] Deut. vi. 4; Mark xii. 29.

Chap. III.—*The same continued.*

The prophets also, when they speak as in the person of God, [saying,] "I am God, the first [of beings], and I am also the last,[6] and besides me there is no God,"[7] concerning the Father of the universe, do also speak of our Lord Jesus Christ. "A Son," they say, "has been given to us, on whose shoulder the government is from above; and His name is called the Angel of great counsel, Wonderful, Counsellor, the strong and mighty God."[8] And concerning His incarnation, "Behold, a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son; and they shall call his name Immanuel."[9] And concerning the passion, "He was led as a sheep to the slaughter; and as a lamb before her shearers is dumb, I also was as an innocent lamb led to be sacrificed."[10]

Chap. IV.—*Continuation.*

The Evangelists, too, when they declared that the one Father was "the only true God,"[11] did not omit what concerned our Lord, but wrote: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by Him, and without Him was not anything made that was made."[1] And concerning the incarnation: "The Word," says [the Scripture], "became flesh, and dwelt among us."[2] And again: "The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham."[3] And those very apostles, who said "that there is one God,"[4] said also that "there is one Mediator between God and men."[5] Nor were they ashamed of the incarnation and the passion. For what says [one]? "The man Christ Jesus, who gave Himself"[6] for the life and salvation of the world.

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[1] Gen. xix. 24.

[2] The MS. has "Lord."

[3] Gen. i. 26, 27.

[4] Gen. v. 1, ix. 6.

[5] Deut. xviii. 15; Acts iii. 22, vii. 37.

[6] Literally, "after these things."

[7] Isa. xliv. 6.

[8] Isa. ix. 6.

[9] Isa. vii. 14; Matt. i. 23.

[10] Isa. liii. 7; Jer. xi. 19.

[11] John xvii. 3.

CHAP. V.—*Denunciation of false teachers.*

Whosoever, therefore, declares that there is but one God, only so as to take away the divinity of Christ, is a devil,[7] and an enemy of all righteousness. He also that confesseth Christ, yet not as the Son of the Maker of the world, but of some other unknown[8] being, different from Him whom the law and the prophets have proclaimed, this man is an instrument of the devil. And he that rejects the incarnation, and is ashamed of the cross for which I am in bonds, this man is antichrist.[9] Moreover, he who affirms Christ to be a mere man is accursed, according to the [declaration of the] prophet,[10] since he puts not his trust in God, but in man. Wherefore also he is unfruitful, like the wild myrtle-tree.

CHAP. VI.—*Renewed cautions.*

These things I write to you, thou new olive-tree of Christ, not that I am aware you hold any such opinions, but that I may put you on your guard, as a father does his children. Beware, therefore, of those that hasten to work mischief, those "enemies of the cross of Christ, whose end is destruction, whose glory is in their shame."[11] Beware of those

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[1] John i. 1.

[2] John i. 14.

[3] Matt. i. 1.

[4] 1 Cor. viii. 4, 6; Gal. iii. 20.

[5] Eph. iv. 5, 6; 1 Tim. ii. 5.

[6] 1 Tim. ii. 5.

[7] Comp. John vi. 70. Some read, "the son of the devil."

[8] Or, "that cannot be known."

[9] Comp. 1 John ii. 22, iv. 3; 2 John 7.

[10] Jer. xvii. 5.

[11] Phil. iii. 18, 19.

"dumb dogs," those trailing serpents, those scaly[1] dragons, those asps, and basilisks, and scorpions. For these are subtle wolves,[2] and apes that mimic the appearance of men.

CHAP. VII.—*Exhortation to consistency of conduct.*

Ye have been the disciples of Paul and Peter; do not lose what was committed to your trust. Keep in remembrance Euodias,[3] your deservedly-blessed pastor, into whose hands the government over you was first entrusted by the apostles. Let us not bring disgrace upon our Father. Let us prove ourselves His true-born children, and not bastards. Ye know after what manner I have acted among you. The things which, when present, I spoke to you, these same, when absent, I now write to you. "If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be Anathema."[4] Be ye followers of me.[5] My soul be for yours, when I attain to Jesus. Remember my bonds.[6]

CHAP. VIII.—*Exhortations to the presbyters and others.*

Ye presbyters, "feed the flock which is among you,"[7] till God shall show who is to hold the rule over you. For "I am now ready to be offered,"[8] that I "may win Christ."[9] Let the deacons know of what dignity they are, and let them study to be blameless, that they may be the followers of Christ. Let the people be subject to the presbyters and the deacons. Let the virgins know to whom they have consecrated themselves.

CHAP. IX.—*Duties of husbands, wives, parents, and children.*

Let the husbands love their wives, remembering that, at the creation, one woman, and not many, was given to one man. Let the wives honour their husbands, as their own flesh; and let them not presume to address them by their names.[1] Let them also be chaste, reckoning their husbands as their only partners, to whom indeed they have been united according to the will of God. Ye parents, impart a holy training to your children. Ye children, "honour your parents, that it may be well with you."[2]

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[1] The text is here doubtful.

[2] Literally, "fox-like thoes," lynxes being perhaps intended.

[3] Some think that this is the same person as the Euodias referred to by St Paul, Phil. iv. 2; but, as appears from the Greek (ver. 3, *αἵτινες*), the two persons there mentioned were *women*.

[4] 1 Cor. xvi. 22.

[5] Comp. 1 Cor. iv. 16.

[6] Comp. Col. iv. 18.

[7] 1 Pet. v. 2.

[8] 2 Tim. iv. 6.

[9] Phil. iii. 8.

CHAP. X.—*Duties of masters and servants.*

Ye masters, do not treat your servants with haughtiness, but imitate patient Job, who declares, "I did not despise[3] the cause[4] of my man-servant or of my maid-servant, when they contended with me. For what in that case shall I do when the Lord makes an inquisition regarding me?"[5] And you know what follows. Ye servants, do not provoke your masters to anger in anything, lest ye become the authors of incurable mischiefs to yourselves.

CHAP. XI.—*Inculcation of various moral duties.*

Let no one addicted to idleness eat,[6] lest he become a wanderer about, and a whoremonger. Let drunkenness, anger, envy, reviling, clamour, and blasphemy "be not so much as named among you."[7] Let not the widows live a life of pleasure, lest they wax wanton against the word.[8] Be subject to Cæsar in everything in which subjection implies no [spiritual] danger. Provoke not those that rule over you to wrath, that you may give no occasion against yourselves to those that seek for it. But as to the practice of magic, or the impure love of boys, or murder, it is superfluous to write to you, since such vices are forbidden to be committed even by the Gentiles. I do not issue commands on these points as if I were an apostle; but, as your fellow-servant, I put you in mind of them.

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[1] Comp. 1 Pet. iii. 6.

[2] Eph. vi. 1, 3.

[3] Literally, "If I did despise."

[4] Or, "judgment."

[5] Job xxxi. 13, 14.

[6] Comp. 2 Thess. iii. 10.

[7] Eph. v. 3.

[8] 1 Tim. v. 6, 11.

CHAP. XII.—*Salutations.*

I salute the holy presbytery. I salute the sacred deacons, and that person most dear to me,[1] whom may I behold, through the Holy Spirit, occupying my place when I shall attain to Christ. My soul be in place of his. I salute the sub-deacons, the readers, the singers, the doorkeepers, the labourers,[2] the exorcists, the confessors.[3] I salute the keepers of the holy gates, the deaconesses in Christ. I salute the virgins betrothed to Christ, of whom may I have joy in the Lord Jesus.[4] I salute the people of the Lord, from the smallest to the greatest, and all my sisters in the Lord.

CHAP. XIII.—*Salutations continued.*

I salute Cassian and his partner in life, and their very dear children. Polycarp, that most worthy bishop, who is also deeply interested in you, salutes you; and to him I have commended you in the Lord. The whole church of the Smyrnæans, indeed, is mindful of you in their prayers in the Lord. Onesimus, the pastor of the Ephesians, salutes you. Damas,[5] the bishop of Magnesia, salutes you. Polybius, bishop of the Trallians, salutes you. Philo and Agathopus, the deacons, my companions, salute you. "Salute one another with a holy kiss."[6]

CHAP. XIV.—*Conclusion.*

I write this letter to you from Philippi. May He who is alone unbegotten, keep you stedfast both in the spirit and in the flesh, through Him who was begotten before time[7] began! And may I behold you in the kingdom of Christ! I salute him who is to bear rule over you in my stead: may I have joy of him in the Lord! Fare ye well in God, and in Christ, being enlightened by the Holy Spirit.

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[1] Literally, "the name desirable to me," referring to Hero the deacon.

[2] A class of persons connected with the church, whose duty it was to bury the bodies of the martyrs and others.

[3] Such as voluntarily confessed Christ before Gentile rulers.

[4] Some insert here a clause referring to *widows*.

[5] Or, as some read, "Demas."

[6] 2 Cor. xiii. 12.

[7] Literally, "before ages."

THE EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS TO HERO,

A DEACON OF ANTIOCH.

IGNATIUS, *who is also called Theophorus, to Hero, the deacon of Christ, and the servant of God, a man honoured by God, and most dearly loved as well as esteemed, who carries Christ and the Spirit within him, and who is mine own son in faith and love: Grace, mercy, and peace from Almighty God, and from Christ Jesus our Lord, His only-begotten Son, "who gave Himself for our sins, that He might deliver us from the present evil world,"*[1] *and preserve us unto His heavenly kingdom.*

CHAP. I.—*Exhortations to earnestness and moderation.*

I exhort thee in God, that thou add [speed] to thy course, and that thou vindicate thy dignity. Have a care to preserve concord with the saints. Bear [the burdens of] the weak, that "thou mayest fulfil the law of Christ."[2] Devote[3] thyself to fasting and prayer, but not beyond measure, lest thou destroy thyself[4] thereby. Do not altogether abstain from wine and flesh, for these things are not to be viewed with abhorrence, since [the Scripture] saith, "Ye shall eat the good things of the earth."[5] And again, "Ye shall eat flesh even as herbs."[6] And again, "Wine maketh glad the heart of man, and oil exhilarates, and bread strengthens him."[7]

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[1] Gal. i. 4.

[2] Gal. vi. 2.

[3] Literally, "have leisure for."

[4] Literally, "cast thyself down."

[5] Isa. i. 19.

[6] Gen. ix. 3.

[7] Ps. civ. 15.

But all are to be used with moderation, as being the gifts of God. "For who shall eat or who shall drink without Him? For if anything be beautiful, it is His; and if anything be good, it is His."[1] Give attention to reading,[2] that thou mayest not only thyself know the laws, but mayest also explain them to others, as the earnest servant[3] of God. "No man that warreth entangleth himself with the affairs of this life, that he may please him who hath chosen him to be a soldier; and if a man also strive for masteries, yet is he not crowned except he strive lawfully."[4] I that am in bonds pray that my soul may be in place of yours.

CHAP. II.—*Cautions against false teachers.*

Every one that teaches anything beyond what is commanded, though he be [deemed] worthy of credit, though he be in the habit of fasting, though he live in continence, though he work miracles, though he have the gift of prophecy, let him be in thy sight as a wolf in sheep's clothing,[5] labouring for the destruction of the sheep. If any one denies the cross, and is ashamed of the passion, let him be to thee as the adversary himself. "Though he give all his goods to feed the poor, though he remove mountains, though he give his body to be burned,"[6] let him be regarded by thee as abominable. If any one makes light of the law or the prophets, which Christ fulfilled at His coming, let him be to thee as antichrist. If any one says that the Lord is a mere man, he is a Jew, a murderer of Christ.

CHAP. III.—*Exhortations as to ecclesiastical duties.*

"Honour widows that are widows indeed."[7] Be the friend of orphans; for God is "the father of the fatherless, and the judge of the widows."[8] Do nothing without the bishops; for they are priests, and thou a servant of the priests. They baptize, offer sacrifice,[1] ordain, and lay on hands; but thou ministerest to them, as the holy Stephen did at Jerusalem to James and the presbyters. Do not neglect the sacred meetings[2] [of the saints]; inquire after every one by name. "Let no man despise thy youth, but be thou an example to the believers, both in word and conduct."[3]

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[1] Eccles. ii. 25 (after LXX.); Zech. ix. 17.

[2] Comp. 1 Tim. iv. 13.

[3] Literally, "athlete."

[4] 2 Tim. ii. 4.

[5] Comp. Matt. vii. 15.

[6] 1 Cor. xiii. 2.

[7] 1 Tim. v. 3.

[8] Ps. lxviii. 5.

Chap. iv.—*Servants and women are not to be despised.*

Be not ashamed of servants, for we possess the same nature in common with them. Do not hold women in abomination, for they have given thee birth, and brought thee up. It is fitting, therefore, to love those that were the authors of our birth (but only in the Lord), inasmuch as a man can produce no children without a woman. It is right, therefore, that we should honour those who have had a part in giving us birth. "Neither is the man without the woman, nor the woman without the man,"[4] except in the case of those who were first formed. For the body of Adam was made out of the four elements, and that of Eve out of the side of Adam. And, indeed, the altogether peculiar birth of the Lord was of a virgin alone. [This took place] not as if the lawful union [of man and wife] were abominable, but such a kind of birth was fitting to God. For it became the Creator not to make use of the ordinary method of generation, but of one that was singular and strange, as being the Creator.

Chap. v.—*Various relative duties.*

Flee from haughtiness, "for the Lord resisteth the proud."[5] Abhor falsehood, for says [the Scripture], "Thou shalt destroy all them that speak lies."[6] Guard against envy, for its author is the devil, and his successor Cain, who envied his brother, and out of envy committed murder. Exhort my sisters to love God, and be content with their own husbands only. In like manner, exhort my brethren also to be content with their own wives. Watch over the virgins, as the precious treasures of Christ. Be long-suffering,[1] that thou mayest be great in wisdom. Do not neglect the poor, in so far as thou art prosperous. For "by alms and fidelity sins are purged away."[2]

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[1] The term ἱερουργέω, which we have translated as above, is one whose signification is disputed. It occurs once in the New Testament (Rom. xv. 16), where it is translated in our English version simply "ministering." Etymologically, it means "to act as a priest," and we have in our translation followed Hesychius (Cent. iv.), who explains it as meaning "to offer sacrifice."

[2] Specially, assemblies for the celebration of the Lord's Supper.

[3] 1 Tim. iv. 12.

[4] 1 Cor. xi. 11.

[5] Jas. iv. 6; 1 Pet. v. 5.

[6] Ps. v. 6.

CHAP. VI.—*Exhortations to purity and caution.*

Keep thyself pure as the habitation of God. Thou art the temple of Christ. Thou art the instrument of the Spirit. Thou knowest in what way I have brought thee up. Though I am the least of men, do thou seek to follow me, be thou an imitator of my conduct. I do not glory in the world, but in the Lord. I exhort Hero, my son; "but let him that glorieth, glory in the Lord."[3] May I have joy of thee, my dear son, whose guardian may He be who is the only unbegotten God, and the Lord Jesus Christ! Do not believe all persons, do not place confidence in all; nor let any man get the better of thee by flattery. For many are the ministers of Satan; and "he that is hasty to believe is light of heart."[4]

CHAP. VII.—*Solemn charge to Hero, as future bishop of Antioch.*

Keep God in remembrance, and thou shalt never sin. Be not double-minded[5] in thy prayers; for blessed is he who doubteth not. For I believe in the Father of the Lord Jesus Christ, and in His only-begotten Son, that God will show me, Hero, upon my throne. Add speed, therefore,[6] to thy course. I charge thee before the God of the universe, and before Christ, and in the presence of the Holy Spirit, and of the ministering ranks [of angels], keep in safety that deposit which I and Christ have committed to thee, and do not judge thyself unworthy of those things which have been shown by God [to me] concerning thee. I hand over to thee the church of Antioch. I have commended you to Polycarp in the Lord Jesus Christ.

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[1] Prov. xiv. 29.

[2] Prov. xv. 27 (after LXX.: xvi. 6 in English version).

[3] 1 Cor. i. 31; 2 Cor. x. 17.

[4] Ecclus. xix. 4.

[5] Comp. Jas. i. 6, 8.

[6] Compare Epistle to the Antiochians, chap. xii.

CHAP. VIII.—*Salutations.*

The bishops, Onesimus, Bitus, Damas, Polybius, and all they of Philippi (whence also I have written to thee), salute thee in Christ. Salute the presbytery worthy of God: salute my holy fellow-deacons, of whom may I have joy in Christ, both in the flesh and in the spirit. Salute the people of the Lord, from the smallest to the greatest, every one by name; whom I commit to thee as Moses did [the Israelites] to Joshua, who was their leader after him. And do not reckon this which I have said presumptuous on my part; for although we are not such as they were, yet we at least pray that we may be so, since indeed we are the children of Abraham. Be strong, therefore, O Hero, like a hero, and like a man. For from henceforth thou shalt lead[1] in and out the people of the Lord that are in Antioch, and so "the congregation of the Lord shall not be as sheep which have no shepherd."[2]

CHAP. IX.—*Concluding salutations and instructions.*

Salute Cassian, my host, and his most serious-minded partner in life, and their very dear children, to whom may "God grant that they find mercy of the Lord in that day,"[3] on account of their ministrations to us, whom also I commend to thee in Christ. Salute by name all the faithful in Christ that are at Laodicea. Do not neglect those at Tarsus, but look after them steadily, confirming them in the gospel. I salute in the Lord, Maris the bishop of Neapolis, near Anazarbus. Salute thou also Mary my daughter, distinguished both for gravity and erudition, as also "the church which is in her house."[4] May my soul be in place of hers:

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[1] Comp. Deut. xxxi. 7, 23.

[2] Num. xxvii. 17.

[3] 2 Tim. i. 18.

[4] Col. iv. 15.

she is the very pattern of pious women. May the Father of Christ, by His only-begotten Son, preserve thee in good health, and of high repute in all things, to a very old age, for the benefit of the church of God! Farewell in the Lord, and pray thou that I may be perfected.

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THE EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS TO THE PHILIPPIANS.

IGNATIUS, *who is also called Theophorus, to the church of God which is at Philippi, which has obtained mercy in faith, and patience, and love unfeigned: Mercy and peace from God the Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ, "who is the Saviour of all men, specially of them that believe."*[1]

CHAP. I.—*Reason for writing the epistle.*

Being mindful of your love and of your zeal in Christ, which ye have manifested towards us, we thought it fitting to write to you, who display such a godly and spiritual love to the brethren,[2] to put you in remembrance of your Christian course,[3] "that ye all speak the same thing, being of one mind, thinking the same thing, and walking by the same rule of faith,"[4] as Paul admonished you. For if there is one God of the universe, the Father of Christ, "of whom are all things;"[5] and one Lord Jesus Christ, our [Lord], "by whom are all things;"[5] and also one Holy Spirit, who wrought[6] in Moses, and in the prophets and apostles; and also one baptism, which is administered that we should have fellowship with the death of the Lord;[7] and also one elect church; there ought likewise to be but one faith in respect to Christ. For "there is one Lord, one faith, one baptism; one God and Father of all, who is through all, and in all."[1]

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[1] 1 Tim. iv. 10.

[2] Literally, "to your brother-loving spiritual love according to God."

[3] Literally, "course in Christ."

[4] 1 Cor. i. 10; Phil. ii. 2, iii. 16.

[5] 1 Cor. viii. 6.

[6] 1 Cor. xii. 11.

[7] Literally, "which is given unto the death of the Lord."

CHAP. II.—*Unity of the three Divine Persons.*

There is then one God and Father, and not two or three; One who is; and there is no other besides Him, the only true [God]. For "the Lord thy God," saith [the Scripture], "is one Lord."[2] And again, "Hath not one God created us? Have we not all one Father?"[3] And there is also one Son, God the Word. For "the only-begotten Son," saith [the Scripture], "who is in the bosom of the Father."[4] And again, "One Lord Jesus Christ."[5] And in another place, "What is His name, or what His Son's name, that we may know?"[6] And there is also one Paraclete.[7] For "there is also," saith [the Scripture], "one Spirit,"[8] since "we have been called in one hope of our calling."[8] And again, "We have drunk of one Spirit,"[9] with what follows. And it is manifest that all these gifts [possessed by believers] "worketh one and the self-same Spirit."[10] There are not then either three Fathers,[11] or three Sons, or three Paracletes, but one Father, and one Son, and one Paraclete. Wherefore also the Lord, when He sent forth the apostles to make disciples of all nations, commanded them to "baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,"[12] not into one [person] having three names, nor into three [persons] who became incarnate, but into three possessed of equal honour.

CHAP. III.—*Christ was truly born, and died, etc.*

For there is but One that became incarnate, and that neither the Father nor the Paraclete, but the Son only, [who became so] not in appearance or imagination, but in reality. For "the Word became flesh."[1] For "Wisdom builded for herself a house."[2] And God the Word was born as man, with a body, of the Virgin, without any intercourse of man. For [it is written], "A virgin shall conceive in her womb, and bring forth a son."[3] He was then truly born, truly grew up, truly ate and drank, was truly crucified, and died, and rose again. He who believes these things, as they really were, and as they really took place, is blessed. He who believeth them not is no less accursed than those who crucified the Lord. For the prince of this world rejoiceth when any one denies the cross, since he knows that the confession of the cross is his own destruction. For that is the trophy which has been raised up against his power, which when he sees, he shudders, and when he hears of, is afraid.

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[1] Eph. iv. 5.

[2] Deut. vi. 4; Mark xii. 29.

[3] Mal. ii. 10.

[4] John i. 18.

[5] 1 Cor. viii. 6.

[6] Prov. xxx. 4.

[7] *i.e.* "Advocate" or "Comforter;" comp. John xiv. 16.

[8] Eph. iv. 4.

[9] 1 Cor. xii. 13.

[10] 1 Cor. xii. 11.

[11] Comp. Athanasian Creed.

[12] Matt. xxviii. 19.

CHAP. IV.—*The malignity and folly of Satan.*

And indeed, before the cross was erected, he (Satan) was eager that it should be so; and he "wrought" [for this end] "in the children of disobedience."[4] He wrought in Judas, in the Pharisees, in the Sadducees, in the old, in the young, and in the priests. But when it was just about to be erected, he was troubled, and infused repentance into the traitor, and pointed him to a rope to hang himself with, and taught him [to die by] strangulation. He terrified also the silly woman, disturbing her by dreams; and he, who had tried every means to have the cross prepared, now endeavoured to put a stop to its erection: not that he was influenced by repentance on account of the greatness of his crime (for in that case he would not be utterly depraved), but because he perceived his own destruction [to be at hand]. For the cross of Christ was the beginning of his condemnation, the beginning of his death, the beginning of his destruction. Wherefore, also, he works in some that they should deny the cross, be ashamed of the passion, call the death an appearance, mutilate and explain away the birth of the Virgin, and calumniate the

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[1] John i. 14.

[2] Prov. ix. 1.

[3] Isa. vii. 14.

[4] Eph. ii. 2.

[human] nature[1] itself as being abominable. He fights along with the Jews to a denial of the cross, and with the Gentiles to the calumniating of Mary,[2] who are heretical in holding that Christ possessed a mere phantasmal body.[3] For the Leader of all wickedness assumes manifold[4] forms, beguiler of men as he is, inconsistent, and even contradicting himself, projecting one course and then following another. For he is wise to do evil, but as to what good may be he is totally ignorant. And indeed he is full of ignorance, on account of his voluntary want of reason: for how can he be deemed anything else who does not perceive reason when it lies at his very feet?

Chap. v.—*Apostrophe to Satan.*

For if the Lord were a mere man, possessed of a soul and body only, why dost thou mutilate and explain away His being born with the common nature of humanity? Why dost thou call the passion a mere appearance, as if it were any strange thing happening to a [mere] man? And why dost thou reckon the death of a mortal to be simply an imaginary death? But if, [on the other hand,] He is both God and man, then why dost thou call it unlawful to style Him "the Lord of glory,"[5] who is by nature unchangeable? Why dost thou say that it is unlawful to declare of the Lawgiver who possesses a human soul, "The Word was made flesh,"[6] and was a perfect man, and not merely one dwelling in a man? But how came this magician into existence, who of old formed all nature that can be apprehended either by the senses or intellect, according to the will of the Father; and, when He became incarnate, healed every kind of disease and infirmity?[7]

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[1] The various Gnostic sects are here referred to, who held that matter was essentially evil, and therefore denied the reality of our Lord's incarnation.

[2] The MS. has μαγείας, "of magic;" we have followed the emendation proposed by Faber.

[3] Literally, "heretical in respect to phantasy."

[4] Literally, is "various," or "manifold."

[5] 1 Cor. ii. 8.

[6] John i. 14.

[7] Matt. iv. 23, ix. 35.

CHAP. VI.—*Continuation.*

And how can He be but God, who raises up the dead, sends away the lame sound of limb, cleanses the lepers, restores sight to the blind, and either increases or transmutes existing substances, as the five loaves and the two fishes, and the water which became wine, and who puts to flight thy whole host by a mere word? And why dost thou abuse the nature of the Virgin, and style her members disgraceful, since thou didst of old display such in public processions,[1] and didst order them to be exhibited naked, males in the sight of females, and females to stir up the unbridled lust of males? But now these are reckoned by thee disgraceful, and thou pretendest to be full of modesty, thou spirit of fornication, not knowing that then only anything becomes disgraceful when it is polluted by wickedness. But when sin is not present, none of the things that have been created are shameful, none of them evil, but all very good. But inasmuch as thou art blind, thou revilest these things.

CHAP. VII.—*Continuation: inconsistency of Satan.*

And how, again, does Christ not at all appear to thee to be of the Virgin, but to be God over all,[2] and the Almighty? Say, then, who sent Him? Who was Lord over Him? And whose will did He obey? And what laws did He fulfil, since He was subject neither to the will nor power of any one? And while you deny that Christ was born,[3] you affirm that the unbegotten was begotten, and that He who had no beginning was nailed to the cross, by whose permission I am unable to say. But thy changeable tactics do not escape me, nor am I ignorant that thou art wont to walk with slanting and uncertain[4] steps. And thou art ignorant who really was born, thou who pretendest to know everything.

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[1] Reference seems here to be made to obscene heathen practices.

[2] *i.e.* so as to have no separate personality from the Father. Comp. Epistle to the Tarsians, chap. ii.

[3] Literally, "and taking away Christ from being born."

[4] Literally, "double."

CHAP. VIII.—*Continuation: ignorance of Satan.*

For many things are unknown[1] to thee; [such as the following]: the virginity of Mary; the wonderful birth; who it was that became incarnate; the star which guided those who were in the east; the Magi who presented gifts; the salutation of the archangel to the Virgin; the marvellous conception of her that was betrothed; the announcement of the boy-forerunner respecting the son of the Virgin, and his leaping in the womb on account of what was foreseen; the songs of the angels over Him that was born; the glad tidings announced to the shepherds; the fear of Herod lest his kingdom should be taken from him; the command to slay the infants; the removal into Egypt, and the return from that country to the same region; the infant swaddling-bands; the human registration; the nourishing by means of milk; the name of father given to him who did not beget; the manger because there was not room [elsewhere]; no human preparation [for the child]; the gradual growth, human speech, hunger, thirst, journeyings, weariness; the offering of sacrifices, and then also circumcision, baptism; the voice of God over Him that was baptized, as to who He was and whence [He had come]; the testimony of the Spirit and the Father from above; the voice of John the prophet when it signified the passion by the appellation of "the Lamb;" the performance of divers miracles, manifold healings; the rebuke of the Lord ruling both the sea and the winds; evil spirits expelled; thou thyself subjected to torture, and, when afflicted by the power of Him who had been manifested, not having it in thy power to do anything.

CHAP. IX.—*Continuation: ignorance of Satan.*

Seeing these things, thou wast in utter perplexity.[2] And thou wast ignorant that it was a virgin that should bring forth; but the angels' song of praise struck thee with astonishment, as well as the adoration of the Magi, and the appearance of the star. Thou didst revert to thy state of [wilful] ignorance, because all the circumstances seemed to thee trifling;[1] for thou didst deem the swaddling-bands, the circumcision, and the nourishment by means of milk contemptible:[2] these things appeared to thee unworthy of God. Again, thou didst behold a man who remained forty days and nights without tasting human food, along with ministering angels at whose presence thou didst shudder, when first of all thou hadst seen Him baptized as a common man, and knewest not the reason thereof. But after His [lengthened] fast thou didst again assume thy wonted audacity, and didst tempt Him when hungry, as if He had been an ordinary man, not knowing who He was. For thou saidst, "If thou be the Son of God, command that these stones be made bread."[3] Now, this expression, "If thou be the Son," is an indication of ignorance. For if thou hadst possessed real knowledge, thou wouldst have understood that the Creator can with equal ease both create what does not exist, and change that which already has a being. And thou temptedst by means of hunger[4] Him who nourisheth all that require food. And thou temptedst the very "Lord of glory,"[5] forgetting in thy malevolence that "man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God." For if thou hadst known that He was the Son of God, thou wouldst also have understood that He who had kept his[6] body from feeling any want for forty days and as many nights, could have also done the same for ever. Why, then, does He suffer hunger? In order to prove that He had assumed a body subject to the same feelings as those of ordinary men. By the first fact He showed that He was God, and by the second that He was also man.

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[1] According to many of the fathers, Satan was in great ignorance as to a multitude of points connected with Christ.

[2] Literally, "thou wast dizzy in the head."

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[1] Literally, "on account of the paltry things."

[2] Literally, "small."

[3] Matt. iv. 3.

[4] Or, "the belly."

[5] 1 Cor. ii. 8.

[6] Some insert, "corruptible."

Chap. x.—*Continuation: audacity of Satan.*

Darest thou, then, who didst fall "as lightning"[1] from the very highest glory, to say to the Lord, "Cast thyself down from hence,"[2] [to Him] to whom the things that are not are reckoned as if they were,[3] and to provoke to a display of vainglory Him that was free from all ostentation? And didst thou pretend to read in Scripture concerning Him: "For He hath given His angels charge concerning thee, and in their hands they shall bear thee up, lest thou shouldest dash thy foot against a stone?"[4] At the same time thou didst pretend to be ignorant of the rest, furtively concealing what [the Scripture] predicted concerning thee and thy servants: "Thou shalt tread upon the adder and the basilisk; the lion and the dragon shalt Thou trample under foot."[5]

Chap. xi.—*Continuation: audacity of Satan.*

If, therefore, thou art trodden down under the feet of the Lord, how dost thou tempt Him that cannot be tempted, forgetting that precept of the lawgiver, "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God?"[6] Yea, thou even darest, most accursed one, to appropriate the works of God to thyself, and to declare that the dominion over these was delivered to thee.[7] And thou dost set forth thine own fall as an example to the Lord, and dost promise to give Him what is really His own, if He would fall down and worship thee.[8] And how didst thou not shudder, O thou spirit more wicked through thy malevolence than all other wicked spirits, to utter such words against the Lord? Through thine appetite[9] wast thou overcome, and through thy vainglory wast thou brought to dishonour: through avarice and ambition dost thou [now] draw on [others] to ungodliness. Thou, O Belial, dragon, apostate, crooked serpent, rebel against God, outcast from Christ, alien from the Holy Spirit, exile from the ranks of the angels, reviler of the laws of God, enemy of all that is lawful, who didst rise up against the first-formed of men, and didst drive forth [from obedience to] the commandment [of God] those who had in no respect injured thee; thou who didst raise up against Abel the murderous Cain; thou who didst take arms against Job: dost thou say to the Lord, "If thou wilt fall down and worship me?" Oh what audacity! Oh what madness! Thou runaway slave, thou incorrigible[1] slave, dost thou rebel against the good Lord? Dost thou say to so great a Lord, the God of all that either the mind or the senses can perceive, "If thou wilt fall down and worship me?"

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[1] Luke x. 18.
[2] Matt. iv. 6.
[3] Comp. Rom. iv. 17.
[4] Matt. iv. 6.
[5] Ps. xci. 13.
[6] Deut. vi. 16.
[7] Luke iv. 6.
[8] Matt. iv. 9.
[9] Or, "belly."

CHAP. XII.—*The meek reply of Christ.*

But the Lord is long-suffering, and does not reduce to nothing him who in his ignorance dares [to utter] such words, but meekly replies, "Get thee hence, Satan."[2] He does not say, "Get thee behind *me*," for it is not possible that he should be converted; but, "Begone, Satan," to the course which thou hast chosen. "Begone" to those things to which, through thy malevolence, thou hast been called. For I know who I am, and by whom I have been sent, and whom it behoves me to worship. For "thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve."[3] I know the one [God]; I am acquainted with the only [Lord] from whom thou hast become an apostate. I am not an enemy of God; I acknowledge His pre-eminence; I know the Father, who is the author of my generation.

CHAP. XIII.—*Various exhortations and directions.*

These things, brethren, out of the affection which I entertain for you, I have felt compelled to write, exhorting you with a view to the glory of God, not as if I were a person of any consequence, but simply as a brother. Be ye subject to the bishop, to the presbyters, and to the deacons. Love one another in the Lord, as being the images of God. Take heed, ye husbands, that ye love your wives as your own members. Ye wives also, love your husbands, as being one with them in virtue of your union. If any one lives in chastity or continence, let him not be lifted up, lest he lose his reward. Do not lightly esteem the festivals. Despise not the period of forty days, for it comprises an imitation of the conduct of the Lord. After the week of the passion, do not neglect to fast on the fourth and sixth days, distributing at the same time of thine abundance to the poor. If any one fasts on the Lord's day or on the Sabbath, except on the paschal Sabbath only, he is a murderer of Christ.

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[1] Or, "that always needs whipping."

[2] Matt. iv. 10.

[3] Matt. iv. 10; Deut. vi. 13.

CHAP. XIV.—*Farewells and cautions.*

Let your prayers be extended to the church of Antioch, whence also I as a prisoner am being led to Rome. I salute the holy bishop Polycarp; I salute the holy bishop Vitalius, and the sacred presbytery, and my fellow-servants the deacons; in whose stead may my soul be found. Once more I bid farewell to the bishop, and to the presbyters in the Lord. If any one celebrates the passover along with the Jews, or receives the emblems of their feast, he is a partaker with those that killed the Lord and His apostles.

CHAP. XV.—*Salutations. Conclusion.*

Philo and Agathopus the deacons salute you. I salute the company of virgins, and the order of widows; of whom may I have joy! I salute the people of the Lord, from the least unto the greatest. I have sent you this letter through Euphanius the reader, a man honoured of God, and very faithful, happening to meet with him at Rhegium, just as he was going on board ship. Remember my bonds,[1] that I may be made perfect in Christ. Fare ye well in the flesh, the soul, and the spirit, while ye think of things perfect, and turn yourselves away from the workers of iniquity, who corrupt the word of truth, and are strengthened inwardly by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.

[1] Comp. Col. iv. 18.

THE EPISTLE OF MARIA THE PROSELYTE TO IGNATIUS.

MARY OF CASSOBELÆ[1] TO IGNATIUS.

MARIA, *a proselyte of Jesus Christ, to Ignatius Theophorus, most blessed bishop of the apostolic church which is at Antioch, beloved in God the Father, and Jesus: Happiness and safety. We all*[2] *beg for thee joy and health in Him.*

CHAP. I.—*Occasion of the epistle.*

Since Christ has, to our wonder,[3] been made known among us to be the Son of the living God, and to have become man in these last times by means of the Virgin Mary, [4]of the seed of David and Abraham, according to the announcements previously made regarding Him and through Him by the company of the prophets, we therefore beseech and entreat that, by thy wisdom, Maris our friend, bishop of our native Neapolis,[5] which is near Zarbus,[6] and Eulogius, and Sobelus the presbyter, be sent to us, that we be not destitute of such as preside over the divine word; as Moses also says, "Let the Lord God look out a man who shall guide this people, and the congregation of the Lord shall not be as sheep which have no shepherd."[1]

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[1] Nothing can be said with certainty as to the place here referred to. Some have conceived that the ordinary reading, *Maria Cassobolita*, is incorrect, and that it should be changed to *Maria Castabalitis*, supposing the reference to be to Castabala, a well-known city of Cilicia. But this and other proposed emendations rest upon mere conjecture.

[2] Some propose to read, "always."

[3] Or, "wonderfully."

[4] The MS. has, "and."

[5] The MS. has ʼΗμελάπης, which Vossius and others deem a mistake for ἡμεδαπῆς, as translated above.

[6] The same as Azarbus (comp. Epist. to Hero, chap. ix.).

CHAP. II.—*Youth may be allied with piety and discretion.*

But as to those whom we have named being young men, do not, thou blessed one, have any apprehension. For I would have you know that they are wise above the flesh, and are insensible to its passions, they themselves glowing with all the glory of a hoary head through their own[2] intrinsic merits, and though but recently called as young men to the priesthood.[3] Now, call thou into exercise[4] thy thoughts through the Spirit that God has given to thee by Christ, and thou wilt remember[5] that Samuel, while yet a little child, was called a seer, and was reckoned in the company of the prophets, that he reproved the aged Eli for transgression, since he had honoured his infatuated sons above God the author of all things, and had allowed them to go unpunished, when they turned the office of the priesthood into ridicule, and acted violently towards the people.

CHAP. III.—*Examples of youthful devotedness.*

Moreover, the wise Daniel, while he was a young man, passed judgment on certain vigorous old men,[6] showing them that they were abandoned wretches, and not [worthy to be reckoned] elders, and that, though Jews by extraction, they were Canaanites in practice. And Jeremiah, when on account of his youth he declined the office of a prophet entrusted to him by God, was addressed in these words: "Say not, I am a youth; for thou shalt go to all those to whom I send thee, and thou shalt speak according to all that

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[1] Num. xxvii. 16, 17.

[2] Literally, "in themselves."

[3] Literally, "in recent newness of priesthood."

[4] Literally, "call up."

[5] Literally, "know."

[6] The ancient Latin version translates *ὠμογέροντας* "cruel old men," which perhaps suits the reference better.

I command thee; because I am with thee."[1] And the wise Solomon, when only in the twelfth year of his age,[2] had wisdom to decide the important question concerning the children of the two women,[3] when it was unknown to whom these respectively belonged; so that the whole people were astonished at such wisdom in a child, and venerated him as being not a mere youth, but a full-grown man. And he solved the hard questions of the queen of the Ethiopians, which had profit in them as the streams of the Nile [have fertility], in such a manner that that woman, though herself so wise, was beyond measure astonished.[4]

CHAP. IV.—*The same subject continued.*

Josiah also, beloved of God, when as yet he could scarcely speak articulately, convicts those who were possessed of a wicked spirit as being false in their speech, and deceivers of the people. He also reveals the deceit of the demons, and openly exposes those that are no gods; yea, while yet an infant he slays their priests, and overturns their altars, and defiles the places where sacrifices were offered with dead bodies, and throws down the temples, and cuts down the groves, and breaks in pieces the pillars, and breaks open the tombs of the ungodly, that not a relic of the wicked might any longer exist.[5] To such an extent did he display zeal in the cause of godliness, and prove himself a punisher of the ungodly, while he as yet faltered in speech like a child. David, too, who was at once a prophet and a king, and the root of our Saviour according to the flesh, while yet a youth is anointed by Samuel to be king.[6] For he himself says in a certain place, "I was small among my brethren, and the youngest in the house of my father."[7]

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[1] Jer. i. 7.

[2] Comp. for similar statements to those here made, Epist. to the Magnesians (longer), chap. iii.

[3] Literally, "understood the great question of the ignorance of the women respecting their children."

[4] Literally, "out of herself."

[5] 2 Kings xxii. xxiii.

[6] 1 Sam. xvi.

[7] Ps. cl. 1 (in the Septuagint; not found at all in Hebrew).

CHAP. V.—*Expressions of respect for Ignatius.*

But time would fail me if I should endeavour to enumerate[1] all those that pleased God in their youth, having been entrusted by God with either the prophetical, the priestly, or the kingly office. And those which have been mentioned may suffice, by way of bringing the subject to thy remembrance. But I entreat thee not to reckon me presumptuous or ostentatious [in writing as I have done]. For I have set forth these statements, not as instructing thee, but simply as suggesting the matter to the remembrance of my father in God. For I know my own place,[2] and do not compare myself with such as you. I salute thy holy clergy, and thy Christ-loving people who are ruled under thy care as their pastor. All the faithful with us salute thee. Pray, blessed shepherd, that I may be in health as respects God.

[1] Literally, "to trace up."

[2] Literally, "measure" or "limits."

THE EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS TO MARY AT NEAPOLIS, NEAR ZARBUS.

IGNATIUS, *who is also called Theophorus, to her who has obtained mercy through the grace of the most high God the Father, and Jesus Christ the Lord, who died for us, to Mary, my daughter, most faithful, worthy of God, and bearing Christ* [*in her heart*], *wishes abundance of happiness in God.*

Chap. I.—*Acknowledgment of her excellence and wisdom.*

Sight indeed is better than writing, inasmuch as, being one[1] of the company of the senses, it not only, by communicating proofs of friendship, honours him who receives them, but also, by those which it in turn receives, enriches the desire for better things. But the second harbour of refuge, as the phrase runs, is the practice of writing, which we have received, as a convenient haven, by thy faith, from so great a distance, seeing that by means of a letter we have learned the excellence that is in thee. For the souls of the good, O thou wisest[2] of women! resemble fountains of the purest water; for they allure by their beauty passers-by to drink of them, even though these should not be thirsty. And thy intelligence invites us, as by a word of command, to participate in those divine draughts which gush forth so abundantly in thy soul.

[1] Literally, "a part."

[2] Literally, "all-wise."

CHAP. II.—*His own condition.*

But I, O thou blessed woman, not being now so much my own master as in the power of others, am driven along by the varying wills of many adversaries,[1] being in one sense in exile, in another in prison, and in a third in bonds. But I pay no regard to these things. Yea, by the injuries inflicted on me through them, I acquire all the more the character of a disciple, that I may attain to Jesus Christ. May I enjoy the torments which are prepared for me, seeing that "the sufferings of this present time are not worthy [to be compared] with the glory which shall be revealed in us."[2]

CHAP. III.—*He had complied with her request.*

I have gladly acted as requested in thy letter,[3] having no doubt respecting those persons whom thou didst prove to be men of worth. For I am sure that thou barest testimony to them in the exercise of a godly judgment,[4] and not through the influence of carnal favour. And thy numerous quotations of Scripture passages exceedingly delighted me, which, when I had read, I had no longer a single doubtful thought respecting the matter. For I did not hold that those things were simply to be glanced over by my eyes, of which I had received from thee such an incontrovertible demonstration. May I be in place of thy soul, because thou lovest Jesus, the Son of the living God. Wherefore also He Himself says to thee, "I love them that love me; and those that seek me shall find peace."[5]

CHAP. IV.—*Commendation and exhortation.*

Now it occurs to me to mention, that the report is true which I heard of thee whilst thou wast at Rome with the blessed

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[1] Literally, "by the many wills of the adversaries."

[2] Rom. viii. 18.

[3] Literally, "I have gladly fulfilled the things commanded by thee in the letter."

[4] Literally, "by a judgment of God."

[5] Prov. viii. 17 (loosely quoted from LXX.).

Pope[1] Linus, whom the deservedly-blessed Clement, a hearer of Peter and Paul, has now succeeded. And by this time thou hast added a hundred-fold to thy reputation; and may thou, O woman! still further increase it. I greatly desired to come unto you, that I might have rest with you; but "the way of man is not in himself."[2] For the military guard [under which I am kept] hinders my purpose, and does not permit me to go further. Nor indeed, in the state I am now in, can I either do or suffer anything. Wherefore deeming the practice of writing the second resource of friends for their mutual encouragement, I salute thy sacred soul, beseeching of thee to add still further to thy vigour. For our present labour is but little, while the reward which is expected is great.

CHAP. V.—*Salutations and good wishes.*

Avoid those that deny the passion of Christ, and His birth according to the flesh: and there are many at present who suffer under this disease. But it would be absurd to admonish thee on other points, seeing that thou art perfect in every good work and word, and able also to exhort others in Christ. Salute all that are like-minded with thyself, and who hold fast to their salvation in Christ. The presbyters and deacons, and above all the holy Hero, salute thee. Cassian my host salutes thee, as well as my sister, his wife, and their very dear children. May the Lord sanctify thee for evermore in the enjoyment both of bodily and spiritual health, and may I see thee in Christ obtaining the crown!

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[1] The original is *πάπᾳ*, literally "father."

[2] Jer. x. 23.

THE EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS TO ST JOHN THE APOSTLE.

IGNATIUS, *and the brethren who are with him, to John the holy presbyter.*

We are deeply grieved at thy delay in strengthening us by thy addresses and consolations. If thy absence be prolonged, it will disappoint many of us. Hasten then to come, for we believe that it is expedient. There are also many of our women here, who are desirous to see Mary [the mother] of Jesus, and wish day by day to run off from us to you, that they may meet with her, and touch those breasts of hers which nourished the Lord Jesus, and may inquire of her respecting some rather secret matters. But Salome also, [the daughter of Anna,] whom thou lovest, who stayed with her five months at Jerusalem, and some other well-known persons, relate that she is full of all graces and all virtues, after the manner of a virgin, fruitful in virtue and grace. And, as they report, she is cheerful in persecutions and afflictions, free from murmuring in the midst of penury and want, grateful to those that injure her, and rejoices when exposed to troubles: she sympathizes with the wretched and the afflicted as sharing in their affliction, and is not slow to come to their assistance. Moreover, she shines forth gloriously as contending in the fight of faith against the pernicious conflicts of vicious[1] principles or conduct. She is the lady of our new religion and repentance,[2] and the handmaid among the faithful of all works of piety. She is indeed devoted to the humble, and she humbles herself more devotedly than the devoted, and is wonderfully magnified by all, while at the same time she suffers detraction from the scribes and Pharisees. Besides these points, many relate to us numerous other things regarding her. We do not, however, go so far as believe all in every particular; nor do we mention such to thee. But, as we are informed by those who are worthy of credit, there is in Mary the mother of Jesus an angelic purity of nature allied with the nature of humanity.[1] And such reports as these have greatly excited our emotions, and urge us eagerly to desire a sight of this (if it be lawful so to speak) heavenly prodigy and most sacred marvel. But do thou in haste comply with this our desire; and fare thee well. Amen.

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[1] Literally, "of vices."

[2] Some MSS. and editions seem with propriety to omit this word.

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[1] Literally, "a nature of angelic purity is allied to human nature."

A SECOND EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS TO ST JOHN.

HIS *friend*[1] *Ignatius to John the holy presbyter.*

If thou wilt give me leave, I desire to go up to Jerusalem, and see the faithful[2] saints who are there, especially Mary the mother, whom they report to be an object of admiration and of affection to all. For who would not rejoice to behold and to address her who bore the true God from her[3] own womb, provided he is a friend of our faith and religion? And in like manner [I desire to see] the venerable James, who is surnamed Just, whom they relate to be very like Christ Jesus in appearance,[4] in life, and in method of conduct, as if he were a twin-brother of the same womb. They say that, if I see him, I see also Jesus Himself, as to all the features and aspect of His body. Moreover, [I desire to see] the other saints, both male and female. Alas! why do I delay? Why am I kept back? Kind[5] teacher, bid me hasten [to fulfil my wish], and fare thou well. Amen.

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[1] Literally, "his own."

[2] Some omit this word.

[3] Literally, "of herself." Some read, instead of "de se," "deorum," when the translation will be, "the true God of gods."

[4] Or, "face." Some omit the word.

[5] Or, "good."

THE EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS TO THE VIRGIN MARY.

HER *friend*[1] *Ignatius to the Christ-bearing Mary.*

Thou oughtest to have comforted and consoled me who am a neophyte, and a disciple of thy [beloved] John. For I have heard things wonderful to tell respecting thy [son] Jesus, and I am astonished by such a report. But I desire with my whole heart to obtain information concerning the things which I have heard from thee, who wast always intimate and allied with Him, and who wast acquainted with [all] His secrets. I have also written to thee at another time, and have asked thee concerning the same things. Fare thou well; and let the neophytes who are with me be comforted of thee, and by thee, and in thee. Amen.

REPLY OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN TO THIS LETTER.

The lowly handmaid of Christ Jesus to Ignatius, her beloved fellow-disciple.

The things which thou hast heard and learned from John concerning Jesus are true. Believe them, cling to them, and hold fast the profession of that Christianity which thou hast embraced, and conform thy habits and life to thy profession. Now I will come in company with John to visit thee, and those that are with thee. Stand fast in the faith,[2] and show thyself a man; nor let the fierceness of persecution move thee, but let thy spirit be strong and rejoice in God thy Saviour.[3] Amen.

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[1] Literally, "her own."

[2] 1 Cor. xvi. 13.

[3] Luke i. 47.

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